THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARTIN LUTHER'S CHRISTOCENTRIC THOUGHT (1505-1516).

by

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Series

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
I.	Introduction.....	3
II.	Outline of Dissertation.....	13
III.	Body of Dissertation.....	15
IV.	Summary.....	136
V.	Bibliography.....	145
VI.	Autobiographical data.....	154

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

A. History of the Dissertation

This Dissertation has grown out of several years study in Luther history. The interest of the writer in this problem had its origin in regular classroom work in Boston University School of Theology, in 1919-20, under Dr. George C. Cell, to whom a deep gratitude for inspiration and instruction is here expressed. The interest in Luther thus awakened was considerably increased when, in 1925-26, the study was pursued in Luther's homeland under teachers holding Luther in firm affection. The names of Harnack, Lietzmann, Seeberg, and Holl suggest the wealth of Luther interest then available. Lecture courses under Lietzmann and Seeberg, personal conferences with Harnack, and seminar work with Holl were the exact means of contact in the field. Visits on three different occasions to Eisenach, Erfurt, and Wittenberg served to give some reality to the imagination that clothes history with life. Three years of teaching Church History in Boston University School of Religious Education and Social Service, have served to confirm and strengthen the original interest in the work.

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Luther's Reconstruction of Method in Theology." This subject was officially approved by Boston University Graduate School, in October, 1928. As the study progressed, however, there appeared, by the operation of natural interest and growing evidence, the conviction that this Reconstruction of Method which Luther undoubtedly effected in Theology was directly connected with and developed reciprocally with his appreciation of the historic piety of the Church in connection with the historic work of Christ. Ease of development, because of greater certainty and more easily traced lines of evidence, urged strongly the change of emphasis. The present subject grew out of the first by a process of elimination. The first subject was more inclusive, this is more sharply defined. The first was a generalized result, this is one of the lines operating to produce that result. After this change of emphasis reflected in the change of subject, the study moved forward in ordered fashion, concentrating itself admirably on one problem.

B. Definition of the Problem

The religious experience of Martin Luther has been under scrutiny for a great many years. Many are the minds that have followed him through his developing experience. Great is the scholarship that has attempted to solve the problems of his activity and thought. That this has been satisfactorily done can not be affirmed. But that it has been done to such an extent that no man can hope to master the literature of the field short of a life time can be affirmed. Increasingly the study is becoming clearer and more objective. This Dissertation is offered as an attempt to show that of the many lines of influence developing in Lutheran thought during the critical years, one, namely, his thought of Christ, may produce a degree of solution not offered by any other single line of approach.

To study his formative years with relationship to his thought of Christ is the task of this Dissertation.

The time limits are from 1483 to 1515-16; more exactly, from 1505 to 1515-16. The years 1483 to 1505 are years when the background of his life is formed; those 1505 to 1515-16 are the years when his Christology is being formed. The inheritance of his childhood goes through a long development which is complete, so far as Christology is involved, when the lectures on Romans are delivered in 1515-16.

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The treatment is not wholly chronological, though the main approach is, because it seemed advisable at times to follow the influence of one line of thought to its conclusion while it was under consideration. Such, for example, is the case when the influence of Augustine is noted. The influence is first operative when suggestions come to Luther in the monastery, then the study of Augustine's own writings comes a few years later, but here we follow it through as though consecutive. A formal chronology is inserted in the Dissertation for reference. Structural necessity, of course, demands that some concessions be made to formal chronology, but it is not believed that there are concessions herein to endanger the historic accuracy.

This work is further limited by being confined to one major aspect of Luther's thought during these years. This is to say that the study we are making is concerned only with the development of Luther's thought of Christ and its relation to his life. Thus the trip to Rome, which is itself a matter of great dispute, is, by definition eliminated, for no competent modern authority is willing to grant it any role of importance in the formation of Luther's thought, or in the guidance of his action.

The treatment is not wholly chronological, though the main approach is, because it needed advisable at times to follow the influence of one line of thought to its conclusion while it was under consideration. Such, for example, is the case when the influence of Hegelianism is noted. The influence is often operative when suggestions need to lurker in the unconscious. When the result of Aurobindo's own writings comes a few years later, but here we follow it through as though consecutive. A formal chronology is inserted in the Dissertation for reference. Structural inconsistency, of course, is caused this some concessions be made to formal chronology, but it is not believed that there are contradictions nevertheless to consider the history accurate.

This work is further limited by being confined to one major aspect of Tagore's thought during these years. This is to say that the study of his working is concerned only with the development of Tagore's theories of Gods and its relation to his life. When the trip to Rome, which is itself a matter of great stature, is, by definition eliminated. For no complete modern authority is willing to insert it any note of importance in the formation of Tagore's thought, or in the guidance of his action.

This Dissertation is also limited by the fact that the point of its interest is not speculative theology, but practical theology. That is to say that the study is not one in Martin Luther's theological system as finally developed, but is rather in the organic growth of his religious life around the place of Christ in his thought. This Dissertation must not be considered as a treatise in Lutheran Christology, but as an attempt to show the living growth of his Christian experience. This excludes research in the logical implications of his Christology, as well as a presentation of his theological system as such. Thus defined it becomes a study in the solution of the problem of Luther's development to 1515-16 by means of a study of his changing conception of Christ's person and work. It is historical, rather than theological or logical. Its presuppositions are only those of historic study, not those of logic or of theology. Its primary sources are Luther's own writings up to 1515-16; its secondary sources are the accepted authorities in the history of theology, the history of popular tradition, the history of the Reformation, together with the biographers of Luther. These are discussed in the bibliography.

The problem kept in view throughout is the problem of Luther's view of Christ in connection with his religious state or condition. The affirmation is that the religious state became relatively stable in proportion as his thought centered around the view of Christ herein set forth. Especial care has been taken that the views of Christ employed throughout might be uncolored by the personal belief of the author and might stand as historically accurate as is possible. The views of Christ of which Luther became aware as his study proceeded are the main sources for the formulation of his own view. In this connection Paul, Augustine, Bernard, Staupitz are the major secondary actors.

This Dissertation does not affirm that a solution in entirety of this difficult development has been discovered, but only that no other thought or line of influence played so large a part in the settlement of Luther's religious experience as the Christological insight which came to him with his study and his active experience between 1505 and 1515.

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C. Previous Work in the Subject

The literature in the Luther field is so immense that no man can hope to master it until a great many years of study has been his privilege. The requirements of this Dissertation, however, are such that one may have a certain assurance that he has adequately covered his necessary preliminary reading even though he may be yet far short of the mastery of the entire Luther literature. Many of the older Luther biographies are not of great importance for this study, because they appeared before the materials which largely direct this study were available. No biography written prior to 1888 is of necessary importance here, for the publication of Luther's earlier works in critical form date from that year. With only a few exceptions a more severe rule than that may operate. For the publication of the famous Lectures on Romans, in 1908, practically marks the time earlier than which the materials for the formative period of Luther's mind were not available.

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works are of value here. It is surprising how few of the authorities have done fine work in this early period. Many of them, writing earlier than 1908, are frank enough to state that the materials for a proper reconstruction of these years were not at hand.

Many great monographs have lately appeared in the field, but not one, to my knowledge, deals exclusively with Lutheran Christology, nor does any trace his so-called reconstruction in Theology. There have been fine works on his Erfurt years, but no monograph to set forth the growth of his Christian thought. His lectures on Psalms have been read for traces of Neo-Platonism, but not for evidences of a growing conception of Christ. True it is that all the better historians of Dogma have made fine use of these materials, but they have done so for his entire theological system, and that in a few pages, or at best a few chapters in the course of a larger work. The great definitive analysis of Luther's religious-intellectual growth in the Erfurt-early Wittenberg years is yet to be written.

Of tremendous consequence, also, is the fact that Luther literature is controversial. If love does not dictate, hate does; and even though a man strives to rid himself of the presence of either of these overpowering masters, yet he can not but feel conscious of

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Of Pomponazzi's consequence, also, is the fact that his literature is controversial. If Luther does not literally hate Rome, and even honour a man writing to his Church as the presence of either of these overpowering sentiments, yet he can not but feel sensations of

the reactions of his fellow men to Luther in such fashion that he can readily imagine a thousand evil eyes upon his every sentence. Neither love nor hate can be trusted to write or to read biography, much less if it be religious biography.

We are enjoying more of tolerance now than has been known for the entire period of authorship in Luther history. Great work is being done now by both Catholic and Protestant schools, and we may look for great forward steps in Luther biography.

In the bibliography a sentence of definition and explanation follows the mention of the outstanding books in the field, and from this it can readily be seen what the principal result of research of late years has been. The books that bear definitely upon the express purpose of this work are so named and commented upon.

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OUTLINE OF DISSERTATION

Chapter I. Early Religious Life and Thought.

#1. Childhood and Youth.....16.

#2. The Entrance into the Monastery.....22.

Chapter II. Monastic Experience and Monastic Studies.

#3. The Problem of his Early Monastic discipline, or "martyrdom." .....32.

#4. Reflections on his First Celebration of the Mass. .....39.

#5. Theological Study.....44.

#6. Biblical Study.....50.

#7. The Counsel to study Bernard.....54.

#8. The Christological Emphasis of his Study. .....59.

#9. The Study of Augustine.....62.

#10. The Effect of Catholic Liturgy and Tradition.....68.

#11. The Influence of John von Staupitz.....75.

Chapter III. His Early Teaching.

#12. Philosophy, at Wittenberg.....90.

#13. The Sentences of Peter Lombard, at Erfurt. .....93.

Chapter IV. Biblical Lecturer; Conclusion of his Christological Thought.

#14. The So-called "Illumination", or the effect of the understanding of Romans i.17. .....99.

#15. Biblical Lecturer. .....105.

#16. The Lectures on Psalms. .....108.

#17. The Lectures on Romans. ....119.

Chapter V. Conclusion. .....132.

Summary. ..... 136.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY RELIGIOUS LIFE AND THOUGHT

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#1. Childhood and Youth

The biographers of Martin Luther are almost unanimous in describing the major characteristic of his youthful religious feeling as fear. The descriptions of it range from an extraordinarily native sensitiveness to sin to a slowly maturing reaction against parental brutality. For example, the foremost American authority states the following:

> "It is hard to imagine how gross and vivid was the belief in the supernatural in Hans Luther's house. Martin never freed himself from it, and many are the reminiscences of the witches that plagued his mother."....
> "God the Father and Jesus were represented to him as stern, nay cruel judges, to appease whose just wrath the intercession of the saints must be secured."[1]

Of late years Smith has allowed himself to be carried over to the point of view which Denifle would have been happy to have established, namely, that the elements of Luther's apparently abnormal fear are to be found closely related to a nervous system concentrating on the sex factors, and becoming wholly resolved around the problems of chastity.

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1 - Smith, 3.

> "A pathological exaggeration is also exhibited in the struggle, during the first ten years in the friary, with what he himself called the 'invincible concupiscence' of the flesh." "Sturdy as was the Saxon's constitution, a neurotic vein may be detected in his violence of language, in his obsession by the devil, and, one is tempted to add, in that conception of God as a cruel and capricious tyrant, which he himself confessed was repugnant to natural feeling."[2]

On the same point, the great biographers in his native tongue make strong statements.

> "In harten Erziehung verschüchtert, machte der Knabe in den Schulen zu Mansfeld und Magdeburg nur langsame Fortschritte."[3]

> "Meanwhile the boy and maturing youth had readily yielded to the influence of his peculiar training. A spirit of timidity and fear possessed him. What he endured was essentially the very same terrors of the Law under which he well-nigh perished when a brother in the monastery."[4]

"Streng war die Erziehung, und die Mutter scheint nicht milder gewesen zu sein als der Vater."[5] The especially fine pages of Bohmer upon the point of Luther's superstitious fear are too long to permit of quotation, but support heavily the view that the childhood legacy was one of strong and invincible fear.[6] Grisar also suggests this harsh and superstitious childhood.[7] All in all there is no voice among the great historians to deny

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2 - Smith, viii. See also; Smith, "Luther's Development in the Light of Psycho-Analysis", Am. Jour. Psy. July, 1913.
3 - Möeller, 7.
4 - Köstlin, Theol., i, 29.
5 - Harnack, ML. 9.
6 - Böhmer, 255-61.
7 - Grisar, i, 5.

the existence of this fear in Luther's childhood and youth, nor any to discount its power in his life, nevertheless the saner voice of Scheel, the greatest of Luther biographers, should be heard: "Von einer sehr 'unglücklichen Kindheit' Martins kann keine Rede sein."[8] "Gebet und Arbeit, Zucht und Gottesfurcht, der Anfang aller Weisheit, umgaben den Knaben."[9] "Gottesfurcht und Kirchlichkeit im überkommenen Sinn beeinflussten den heranwachsenden Knaben im Elternhaus."[10]

Finally, that we may see how English and American thought about Luther is oriented on this approach, the finest authority writing in English states the following:

> "He (i.e. Luther) knew that some of the miners practiced sorcery in dark corners beneath the surface of the earth. He feared an old woman who lived near: she was a witch and the priest himself was afraid of her. He was taught about Hell and Purgatory and the Judgment to come. He shivered whenever he looked on the stained glass window in the parish Church and saw the frowning face of Jesus, who, seated on a rainbow and with a flaming sword in his hand, was coming to judge him he knew not when."[11]

That this fear was operative in his thought of Jesus is definitely stated in the last quotation. This has very important support from other sources also. Luther himself states in later years that his early attitude toward Christ was one of fear.

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8 - Scheel, i, 11.
9 - Ibid, 13.
10 - Ibid, 16.
11 - Lindsay, i, 194.

the existence of this fear in Luther's childhood and youth, was say to diminish his power in his life, nevertheless the inner voice of Gewissen, the greatness of Luther's biographers, should be heard: "Von-einer sehr unreligiösen Kindheit' berichtet kaum jemals jemand."[8] "Gebet und Arbeit, Zucht und Gottesfurcht, der Anfang aller Tugend, umgaben den Knaben."[9] "Gottesfurcht und Sittlichkeit im Elternhause sind beeinflussen den Gewissensnöten Knaben im Elternhause."[10]

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> "In (i.e. Luther) lives that some of the mineral unclothed energy in dark caverns beneath the surface of the earth. He feared an old woman who lived near; she was a witch and the priest falsely was afraid of her. He was taught about Hell and Purgatory and the Judgment to come. He shrieked when he looked on the stained glass window in the Eaglis Church and saw the crucifix face of Jesus, who, seated on a rainbow and with a flaming sword in His hand, was coming to judge him. He knew not when."[11]

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8 - Scherer, J. 11.
9 - Ibid. 12.
10 - Ibid. 12.
11 - Times, , 194.

> "Ich wurde von Kindheit auf so gewöhnt, dass ich erblassen und erschrecken musste, wenn ich den Namen Christus hörte: denn ich war nicht anders unterrichtet, als dass ich ihn für einen gestrengen und zornigen Richter hielt!"[12]

Catholic custom of his day and people would readily support this attitude. Certainly the people of Luther's family and neighborhood were quite accustomed to appeal to the saints, in particular to Anna and Mary, for protection against the Judgment Day, in which Christ was so largely to figure. The very name Martin, which Luther bore, is a record of devotion to the saints. It in no way weakens the point of this thesis to show that theoretically such and such views of Christ were being taught by the Catholic Church, for our consideration is not what was available in general, but what was the fact of Luther's own growth. As a matter of fact, Luther's growth is in proportion as he comes in contact with the freer elements of Catholic piety such as the Brethren of the Common Life, and Staupitz. But the entire atmosphere of Catholic piety in the midst of which Luther grew up, stresses the reliance upon the saints.

> "The bells of the Church in which Luther was baptized bore the following inscriptions carved deeply in the brass: 'God help us; Mary have mercy. 1499.' 'Help us Anna, also St. Peter. St. Paul. 1509.' Help us God, Mary, Anna, St. Peter, Paul, Arnold, Stephen, Simon. 1509.'"[13]

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12 - Scheel, i, 20. EA i, 261.
13 - Lindsay, i, 136.

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"The bells of the Church in which Luther was baptized bore the following inscriptions, carved deeply in the brass: 'Gott helf mir! Maria bere Gnade.' 'Help us Anne, also St. Peter.' St. Paul. 1502.' 'Help us God, Mary, Anna, St. Peter, Paul, Urbanus, Stephen, Simon. 1483.'[13]

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12 - Schaff, H. C. Ed 1, 281.
13 - Kinnaey, 1, 126.

This is fairly conclusive evidence on the fact that the avenue of appeal to the divine mercy was, as far as the public was concerned, through the saints, rather than through Christ. Myconius, himself a great Lutheran preacher and organizer, famous for his encounter with Tetzel on the Indulgence issue, reports that the Jesus of popular tradition of his youth (born 1490) was a stern and vigorous Judge from whom one must be protected by the saints.[14] Again it can be called to mind that once in Luther's youth, when he was severely injured from a fall, he called upon St. Anna for help, and relates that he would have died depending upon her intercession.[15] Luther testifies conclusively, apart from these things noted, that in his boyhood he viewed Jesus with fear and trembling and strove to propitiate him.[16]

Throughout his school days at Mansfeld, there is no relief from the darkness of this picture, and the judgment may be safely affirmed that when he thought of Christ, he thought of him in terms of fear or of justice. And in Magdeburg, where we know that the

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14 - Lindsay, i, 136.
15 - Kostlin, Theol. i, 47.
16 - Ibid, i, 29.

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14 - Lindsay, I. 126.
15 - Smith, Youth. I. 47.
16 - Ibid. I. 29.

gentle Brethren of the Common Life had a school,[17] it was not the ideal of Jesus which these Brethren had that impressed Luther, but it was, on the contrary, the famous "prince of Anhalt" who was working out his own salvation with fear and trembling. And then in Eisenach: every influence surrounding him in these great years was medieval, saintly, monastic. St. Elizabeth shared with St. Anna and the Virgin, the affection and the faith of the countryside. And all his friends of Eisenach were deeply interested in church life in general and monastic life in particular. When he came to Erfurt for his final schooling, the trend of character was set.

Religious by nature, his thoughts had been directed and confirmed along the famous lines of Thuringian piety, centering around the idea of judgment for sins, intercession of the saints, and the monastic life, as a certain and sure pathway. The place of Christ in this thought was that of Judge from whom must come the final sentence of doom or of life. Christ had a purely theological existence in Luther's consciousness; he was

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17 - The Brethren were an approximately 150 year old organization by Luther's time. They were particularly interested in education, and exemplified a fine practical evangelicism. Thomas a Kempis was of their number. They were in charge of a school in Magdeburg when Luther was there. A certain passivity distinguished their greatest leaders, and with this Luther was not especially in sympathy. For the authoritative work on the Brethren, see Hyma, The Christian Renaissance.

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not historically known; he was not Mediator, but the one from whom Luther must have mediation; Christ was not the rod and staff of Christian comfort, but the coldly righteous "Determiner of Destiny." Add to this the unquestionable introspective sensitiveness of Luther, and the lines are laid for the great struggle of Erfurt and Wittenberg.

#2. The Entrance into the Monastery

Luther entered a monastery in Erfurt in 1505 without any vital change in his religious thinking. It was a decision wholly in concert with what we know of his early religious thinking. The intense earnestness of his religious nature drove him restlessly toward a solution which would contain sufficient peace to make life endurable, if not comfortable. The mighty question of all absorbing interest to the highly religious "How shall I find the assurance of a gracious God?" became the dominant issue of his life. His entrance into the monastery is but the consummation of this quest. Every avenue of Catholic thought with which he was familiar, led him directly to the monastic life. Either reliance for assurance on the saints, or on his own works would bring him finally here.

This Dissertation is not to be diverted from its main thesis in order to set out the different views

not literally upward he was not Mediator, but the one from whom Godhead must have mediation; Christ was not the red and state of Christian comforts, but the godly right-eous "Tabernacles of Destiny." And to this the orthodox-ship introspective sensitiveness of Luther, and the times are laid for the great struggle of Kirkyck and Wittenberg.

The Entrance into the Monastery

Luther entered a monastery in Erfurt in 1505 without any sudden change in his religious thinking. It was a decision wholly in concert with what we know of his early religious thinking. The intense earnestness of his religious nature drove him resolutely toward a solution which would contain sufficient peace to make life endurable, if not comfortable. The mighty question of all monastic interest to the highly religious "How shall I find the assurance of a gracious God?" became the to-dwent issue of his life. His entrance into the monastery is but the consummation of this quest. Every aspect of Destiny struggle with which he was familiar, led his directly to the monastic life. Either relinquish for assurance on the saints, or on his own works would drive him finally home.

This disembarkation is not to be diverted from its main thrust however to set out the different views

and proofs of views relative to his entrance into the monastery. Were it in consequence of the famous vow in the thunder storm, then every statement of the earlier portion of this Dissertation receives confirmation, for it was St. Anna upon whom he called, it was to the monastery that he vowed his life, it was fear of death without the necessary mediation that motivated him, and it was fear of a broken vow that continued to furnish incentive for completion. Were it, again, by reason of the death of a friend, or the presence of the plague in Erfurt, the same reasoning holds good and fear is found rather essential. Were it, also, the natural flowering of the religious life, then again we can see the normal element to be a Christ-Judge from whom one must be protected, or before whom one must lay works worthy of life.

If abnormality is to be discovered, it is to be in the strength of the fear element, not in its presence. It is even preferable to consider this not so much strength of fear as a type of stubborn honesty which, operating on given grounds, refuses to accept a false solution, even though that refusal may necessitate the total readjustment of the grounds of hope. This investigation proceeds on the assumption that the entrance into the monastery did not result from a substantial change of point of view, but rather from the necessary

and proofs of views relative to his entrance into the monastery. Here is his consequence of the lessons we in the thunder-storm, then every statement of the earlier portion of his dissertation receives confirmation. For it was St. Anne upon whom he called, it was to the monastery that he vowed his life, it was fear of death without the necessary medication that motivated him, and it was fear of a brown, now that confirmed to furnish incentive for completion. Here it, again, by reason of the death of a friend, or the presence of the shame in Brunt, the same reasoning point grow and fear is found rather essential. Here it, also, the central flowering of the religious life, then again we can see the central element to be a divist-image from whom one must be protected, or before whom one must lay works worthy of life.

If abnormality is to be discovered, it is to be in the strength of the fear element, not in its presence. It is even preferable to consider this not so much a moment of fear as a type of stubborn honesty which, operating on given grounds, refuses to accept a false solution, even though the refusal may deprive the total readjustment of the grounds of hope. This investigation proceeds on the assumption that the entrance into the monastery did not result from a substantial change of point of view, but rather from the necessary

movement of the religious life in the midst of which Luther was held.[18]

It is just that at this point the affirmations of Denifle on the character of the monastic life which Luther was entering be considered, though it is not within the scope of this Dissertation to pronounce judgment on the final validity of this phase of the Luther discussion. The true theory of the Church, says Denifle, will not support the position that Luther should have considered the monastic life as a superior and more certain way to salvation. The entire is well worthy of quotation:

> "1. The tradition of the Church knows but one ideal of life, for both religious and the rest of Christians - the fulfillment of the commandment of the love of God and of neighbor.
> 2. The perfection of Christian life consists precisely in the most perfect fulfillment of that commandment possible, i.e. so far as is possible in time, and in the different states of life.
> 3. Perfection therefor does not consist in the counsels, but in the commandments, or rather in the commandment of charity as the final end of all morality; but the counsels, to which the religious binds himself by vows, are means adapted to the easier attainment of the perfection of charity, though this is not saying that a Christian in the world can not attain the perfection of charity, so far as is possible in this life.
> 4. The counsels do not directly serve to remove the hindrances which stand in the way of charity in itself, for that is the task of the commandments subordinated to the command-

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18 - Compare Scheel, i, 241-242.

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It is just that at this point the affirmations of Doulle on the character of the monastic life which Luther was entering be considered, though it is not within the scope of this dissertation to pronounce judgment on the final validity of this phase of the Luther discussion. The true theory of the Church, says Doulle, will not support the position that Luther should have considered the monastic life as a superior and more certain way to salvation. The author is well worthy of quotation:

> "1. The tradition of the Church knows but one ideal of life, for both religious and the goal of Christians - the fulfillment of the commandment of the love of God and of neighbor.
>
> 2. The perfection of Christian life consists precisely in the most perfect fulfillment of that commandment possible, i.e., as far as is possible in time, and in the different states of life.
>
> 3. Perfection therefore does not consist in the counsels, but in the commandments, or rather in the commandment of charity as the final end of all morality; but the counsels, to which the religious binds himself by vows, are means directed to the easier attainment of the perfection of charity, though this is not saying that a Christian in the world can not attain the perfection of charity, so far as it is possible in this life.
>
> 4. The monastic do not directly serve to remove the hindrances which stand in the way of charity in itself, for that is the task of the commandments subordinated to the command-

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18 - Cornaire Synoed, t. 241-242.

ment of charity. It is the purpose of the counsels to remove such hindrances as are opposed to the freer and easier activity of charity and to the most frequent and enduring actuality possible to it.

5. The religious state is not called a state of perfection, as if that state were deemed perfect, so that anyone belonging to it forthwith possesses perfection, but because in it one, by assuming the vows, irrevocably and forever binds himself to strive after perfection.
6. The habit and everything else external serve no purpose without the purity and power of an inner disposition towards virtue, without self oblation to God. The more inly and perfect this oblation is, the more perfect does the religious become, and so too the Christian in the world.
7. A true vocation to the religious life and a true vocation in the world are equally based on a call from God. Every vocation, in this sense, is of God's will and pleasing to Him; therefore, the means of grace being supplied, it is a way to the attainment of everlasting blessedness. Hence it is that the Church chants to the triune God:

'In thy footsteps conduct us on
Our way to the light which is thy dwelling.'"[19]

Now Denifle follows these statements in the second sentence from the close of the quotation with the affirmation that it is entirely probable that this fine theoretical position might have suffered injustice and that there were probably "some who exaggerated the idea of the religious state." But letting him stand on his own high ground and taking his definition of the religious state at face value, it still seems to me that all that we have said about the normal expectations of

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19 - Denifle, 197-9.

Martin Luther upon entrance can reasonably be said to be valid. Every sentence of Denifle which has been quoted, and which are by his own desire the ideas upon which we ought to pass judgment, points inevitably and without the possibility of deviation to a state of mind in the world and the Church which exalts the religious life as a life which has, at least, more advantages for the personal fulfillment of the commandment of charity. Luther would be led, if this presentation of Denifle be true, to the belief that while he could win his eternal peace in the world, he could have still better opportunity, though Denifle may phrase it as less of "hindrance", in the religious state. Certainly there is no possibility of misconstruing the presentation of Denifle, and one can honorably maintain that it means far more than Denifle would grant, and that even theoretically it is a structure which would produce in many a soul just exactly what it did produce in Luther. The extravagant claims of Luther on the one hand, and the impassioned defense of Denifle on the other, alike point to the conclusion that Luther could reasonably expect a more satisfied life within the monastery, a more certain assurance that he was fulfilling the commandments, a fairly reasonable expectation that the counsels would lead him into more peace, that life within the religious state would conduct more surely into immediate reasonable

Martin Luther upon entrance can consequently be said to be valid. Every evidence of Deutile which has been quoted, and which can by his own desire the idea upon which we ought to rest, indicate, police investigation and allege the possibility of deviation to a state of rival in the world and the church which exalts the religious life as a life which has, at least, more advantages for the personal fulfillment of the commandment of charity. Luther would be led, if this presentation of Deutile be true, to the belief that while he could win his eternal peace in the world, he could have still better opportunity, though Deutile may observe it as less of "hindrance", in the religious state. Certainly there is no possibility of disconserving the presentation of Deutile, and one can hardly maintain that it means for more than Deutile would want, and that even theoretically it is a adventure which would produce in many a soul just exactly what it did produce in Luther. The extravagant claims of Luther on the one hand, and the impassioned defense of Deutile on the other, alike point to the conclusion that Luther could reasonably expect a more satisfied life within the monastery, a more certain assurance that he was fulfilling the commandments, a fairly reasonable expectation that the counsels would lead him into more peace, that life within the religious state would conduct more surely into immediate reasonable

rest and into future blessedness. It seems to be unescapable that we accept the monastic entrance as an event from which Luther had every right to expect a more direct answer to his personal problems. Later on in this Dissertation, I shall have occasion to agree with Denifle that the Catholic Religious Tradition could teach Luther every expression of heartfelt piety, of the grace of God, of the centrality of Jesus, with which he finally came to peace; but that is not to say that the problem of Luther at this stage of his journey is not a problem of fear and sin to which the monastery offered the acceptable solution, and for the solution of which he entered the monastery, fully viewing it as a superior way to salvation. And even Denifle will admit it is a superior way to salvation. Sometimes in life the way and the end are indistinguishable, and Luther was not entirely at fault, if here he confused them.

The following statement few Luther authorities will challenge, and on it Luther research may proceed: Luther entered the monastery as entering what he thought would be the final state of his personal conflict to find a gracious God.[20] And the burden of his soul in these early monastic years is correctly reflected in the oft

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20 - Scheel, i, 243.

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20 - Denifle, L. 243.

quoted statement from his sermon of Baptism -

> "Denn ich bin selbs funfzehn jar ein Mönch gewest, on was ich zuvor gelebt habe, und plissig alle jre bücher gelesen, und alles getan, was ich kunde; noch hat ich mich nie können ein mal meiner Tauffe trösten, sondern immer gedacht: O wenn wiltu ein mal from werden und genug thun, dass du einen gnedigen Gott kreigst? und bin durch solche gedanken zur Möncherei getrieben."[21]

Two phrases in this famous sentence set forth the elements of the struggle. "...sondern immer gedacht ..." - such a phrase dramatically sets forth that inner restlessness which tormented Luther until a solution of his problem was made possible. The whole light of the struggle is brought to a focus in the phrase - "O wenn wiltu ein mal from werden, und genug thun, dass du einen gnedigen Gott kreigst?" The implications of this question range the entire field of religious experience, involving the attempt to win by one's own activity the favorable judgment of God, and driving the entire monastic idea on its relentless course. Luther accepted in full the burden placed upon him and strove with might and main, with rigour and vigour, with willing sensitive obedience, to produce in his heart the sense of "from" and to produce in his life the "genug thun."

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21 - WA XXXVII, 661. Scheel, i, 242. Loofs, 686. The whole of the idea is given full weight by the authorities, but the last phrase is questioned by Scheel and others.

modern statement from his sermon of Septima -

> "Wenn ich die ewige Zweifelei, jen ein Wenn gewesen, an was ich, immer geleitet haben, und plötzlich alle jene Dunkeln gelassen, und alles gegen, was ich lieber noch hat, für mich als kommen ein mal meiner Zweifel treiben, wenn ich immer gedacht: o wenn willst ein mal from werden und ganz time, dass du einen gnädigen Gott kriegst? und dann durch solche Gedanken zur Unruhe getrieben."[21]

Two phrases in this famous sentence set forth the elements of the struggle. "...wenn immer gedacht ..." - such a phrase dramatically sets forth that inner faithlessness which concerned Luther until a solution of his problem was quite possible. The whole light of the struggle is brought to a focus in the phrase - "o wenn willst ein mal from werden, und ganz time, dass du einen gnädigen Gott kriegst?" The implications of this question raise the entire field of religious experience, involving the attempt to win by one's own activity the favorable judgment of God, and driving the entire monastic idea on its tortuous course. Luther accepted in full the burden placed upon him and strove with might and main, with vigour and vigour, with willing ascetic obedience, to produce in his heart the sense of "from" and to produce in his life the "ganz time."

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21 - WA XXXVII, ed. Enders, 1, 542. Quoted, Gen. The whole of the idea is given full weight by the authorities, but the last phrase is questioned by Seeberg and others.

Finally, before passing to the work within the monastic studies, it may be noted that, while the break with his past religious feeling was not violent when he entered the monastery, the break with his past and present life was violent. He had shown no signs of displeasure with his parental plans for study and had entered the law school without any known protest. All these plans were rudely and unceremoniously shattered by the imperative demand of religion. He was called upon to shatter completely the dreams of his father, to end abruptly his own upward march to the world's esteem and favor, to close forever the doors to family life and homely contentment. Surely the antithesis was sharply marked. The presentation of Catholicism's harbor and haven - the monastery - was overwhelming and behind its doors Luther sought the means of winning from God, or from Christ, God's Agent of Justice, the great "Well done."

> "Vom 'Sturmbewegten und gefahrwollen Meer' in den 'stillen Hafen' einlenkend hoffte er, mit freudigerer Gewissheit vor den Gott hintreten zu können, der Leib und Seele in die Hölle verdammen kann. Busse und Trachten nach evangelischer Vollkommenheit sollen hinfort der Beruf seines Lebens sein.* 'Mit Furcht und Zittern', nicht mehr abgelenkt durch weltliche Geschäfte, will er 'schaffen dass er selig werde."[22] "Er ging wirklich ins

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* - "der Beruf seines Lebens". This suggests the famous phrase of Susannah Wesley to John Wesley, in a letter of February 23, 1725, when John was in somewhat the same circumstances as Luther: "...make religion the business of your life..." Tyerman, i, 32.

22 - Scheel, i, 253.

Kloster, weil er büssen und genug tun wollte, weil er Vollkommenheit und Verdienste erwerben wollte, mit denen er, soweit es Menschen möglich war, vor Gott bestehen konnte. Um des 'Heiles' willen und im 'grossen Gehorsam' gegen Gott fand er den Weg ins Kloster."[23]

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23 - Scheel, i, 255.

CHAPTER II.

MONASTIC EXPERIENCE AND MONASTIC STUDIES

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MONASTIC EXPERIENCE AND MONASTIC STUDIES

#3. His Early Monastic Discipline, or "Martyrdom"

Most of the Luther biographers have been too willing to build their story of these monastic years from statements of Luther made after 1530,[24] when the years were beginning to color the events of the past, when the passion of bitter controversy had distorted the point of view, when the necessity of understanding had encouraged exaggeration, and when an admiring circle of friends were lending too much romance to the atmosphere of conversation. Denifle has shown that the accuracy in a literal sense of Luther's post-1530 remembrances of his monastic life is quite inadequate for our Luther biography.[25] The years that could not possibly, by any

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24 - WA. XXXVIII, 143. "It is true that I was a pious monk and so strict in the performance of my duties that I can say: If ever a monk reached heaven through monchery, I would surely have reached there. All my friends at the Cloister will bear witness to this, for if it had lasted any longer I should have tortured myself to death with watching, praying, reading and other good work." For the use of such references as this made by Luther in later life and dealing with experiences of many years previous see Mac. i, 92-94, Harnack, ML. 18, Köstlin, Theol.i,54 f. Also see page 28 of this thesis for one of the most famous; and also the text references above to Denifle's position.

25 - Denifle, i, 387-390. Yet we are not to accept the Denifle position as wholly true, since there are Luther references to his hard monastic experience earlier than 1530. These are all surveyed and Denifle corrected in Mackinnon, i, 95.

CHAPTER II

MONASTIC EXPERIENCE AND MONASTIC STUDIES

A. The Early Monastic Discipline, and "Martyrdom"

Most of the Luther biographers have been too willing to build their story of these monastic years from statements of Luther's made after 1530,[24] when the years were beginning to color the events of the past, when the passion of bitter controversy had distorted the point of view, when the necessity of understanding had manufactured exaggeration, and when an admiring friends were looking too much nowadays to the atmosphere of martyrdom. Despite the fact that the accuracy in a literal sense of Luther's post-1530 recollections of monastic life is quite inadequate for our Luther biography,[25] the years that could not possibly, by any

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24 - Cf. Preface, Jac. "It is true that I was a pious monk and so strict in the performance of my duties that I even says: I never made another heaven than my cloister. I would also, if they have weeped there. All my friends at the cloister will bear witness to this, for if it had lasted any longer I should have tormented myself to death with watching, praying, reading and other good work." For the use of such references as this made by Luther in later life and testing with appearances of many years previous see Jac., Jac-Ow., Kennedy, Mu., Ir., Boehlin, Bhol., Ch. also see some 30 of this chapter for one of the most famous and also the text references above in Luther's publication.

25 - Boehlin, L. 1, 369-370. For no one has it to account the Boehlin position as vividly true, since there are Luther references to his loved monastic experiences years later than 1530. These are all surveyed and Boehlin comments in Luthertum, 1, 69.

consideration, have covered more than from 1505 to 1515, and in my judgment do not cover more than 1505 to his first journey to Wittenberg (1508),have become in Luther's later discourse the "twenty years" of the tortured life. Also the memory of heat and cold, fasting, chastisement and self-torture, rigidity of discipline and self-denial was soon colored to the point of excessive exaggeration. Surely we can without the slightest hesitancy be willing to grant the result of the researches even of Denifle at points where he is so certainly right as this point. The terror of the monastic days was not the terror of works, of cold and heat, of fasting and long prayer, but was the terror of conscience unappeased, of thought upon the judgment of the great Day, of lack of sufficient merit for his personal cause; and the years covered by it are immaterial, though this Dissertation is attempting to show that those years are from 1505 to approximately the dates of the lectures on Psalms and Romans.

Granting that the extravagant statements of the later years are ruled out, there still remains, not only the common construction of history, but also some very definite references from Luther himself from earlier years. As early as his first Wittenberg years, he was fully conscious of the fact that he had tormented himself beyond reasonable necessity. And what can one make of the following letter written in 1518 to Staupitz but

consideration, have covered more than from 1808 to 1818, and in my judgment do not cover more than 1808 to this first journey to Wittenberg (1809) have become in latterly later discovered the "bounty years" of the returned life, also the memory of heat and cold, fasting, chastisement and self-torture, rigidity of discipline and self-denial was soon declared to the point of excessive exaggeration. Surely we can without the slightest hesitancy we willing to grant the result of the resources even of Devilla at points where he is so decidedly right as this point.

The lesson of the romantic days was not the terror of works, of cold and heat, of fasting and long prayer, but was the terror of personal unrewards, of thought upon the judgment of the great day, of lack of sufficient merit for his personal course, and the years covered in his inventory, though this discrimination is attempting to show that those years are from 1808 to approximately the dates of the lectures on Psalms and Romans.

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that even in the early monastic experience itself, both he and Staupitz were conscious of the depth of the depression and of the frantic efforts to be rid of it. This letter is read into the Dissertation at this point because it throws true historic light backward into these monastic years and their problems. Though written in 1518 after the famous theses, and in somewhat of a defense for them, it nevertheless recalls in vivid terms the progress of ten years of thought. In order not to quote it again at a later point where the latter half of it applies, the whole is inserted here.[26]

> "I remember, Reverend Father, among those happy and wholesome stories of yours, by which the Lord used wonderfully to console me, that you often mentioned the word "penitence", whereupon distressed by our consciences and by those torturers who with endless and intolerable precept taught nothing but what they called a method of confession, we received you as a messenger from heaven, for penitence is not genuine save when it springs from the love of justice and of God, and this which they consider the end and consummation of repentance is rather its commencement.
>
> Your words on this subject pierced me like the sharp arrows of the mighty, so that I began to see what the scriptures had to say about penitence, and behold the happy result: the texts all supported and favored your doctrine, in so much that, while there had been formerly no word in almost all the Bible more bitter to me than "penitence" (although I zealously simulated it before God and tried to express an assumed and forced love), now no word sounds sweeter or more pleasant to me than that. For thus do the commands of God become sweet when we understand that they are not to be read in books only, but in the wounds of the sweetest Saviour.

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26 - Smith, Cor. 91; from Enders i, 196. cf. WA. i, 540.

that even in the early monastic experience itself, both he and Simplicio were conscious of the depth of the depression and of the frantic efforts to be rid of it. This letter is read into the Dissertation at this point because it throws true historic light backward into those notable years and their problems. Though written in 1510 after the famous threes, and in accordance of a defense for them, it nevertheless recalls in vivid terms the process of ten years or thought. In order not to quote it again at a later point where the latter half of it applies, the whole is inserted here.[28]

> I remember, Reverend Father, among those happy and wholesome stories of yours, by which the Lord used wonderfully to console me, that you often mentioned the word "penitence", whereupon disappeared by our consciences and by those contriteness who with endless and intolerable pressept thought nothing but what they called a method of confession, we received you as a messenger from heaven. For penitence is not genuine save when it springs from the love of justice and of God, and this which they consider the end and consummation of repentance is rather its commencement.
>
> Your words on this subject pierced me like the sharp arrows of the mighty, so that I began to see what the scriptures had to say about penitence, and behold the happy result: the texts all supported and favored your doctrine. In so much that, while there had been formerly no word in almost all the Bible more bitter to me than "penitence" (although I zealously simulated it before God and tried to express an assumed and forced love), now no word sounds sweeter or more pleasant to me than that. For thus in the commands of God become sweet when we understand that they are not to be read in books only, but in the sounds of the sweetest Saviour.

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28 - Smith, Cor. 81; from Enchir 1, 128. cf. WA. 1, 540.

> After this it happened by the favor of the learned men who taught me Hebrew and Greek that I learned that the Greek word is "mentanoia" from "meta" and "noun", i.e., from "afterwards" and"mind", so that penitence or "metanoia" is "coming to one's right mind, afterwards", that is, comprehension of your own evil, after you had accepted loss and found out your own error. This is impossible without a change in your affections. All this agrees so well with Paul's theology, that, in my opinion, nothing is more characteristically Pauline.
>
> Then I progressed and saw that "metanoia" meant not only "afterwards" and "mind", but also "change" and "mind", so that "metanoia" means change of mind and affections....
>
> Sticking fast to this conclusion, I dared to think that they were wrong who attributed so much to works of repentance that they have left us nothing of it but formal penances and elaborate confessions. They were seduced by the Latin, for "poenitentiam agere" means rather a work than a change of affection and in no way agrees with the Greek...."

This rather long quotation carries us with fine insight rather ahead of our present place in the discussion, nevertheless it shows beyond the slightest question the growth of the problem far back into monastic days when first he was in contact with Staupitz in 1505-08, and when the helping advice of Staupitz is seen to be a bit contrary to the mode of thought and advice under which Luther was living. The direct point to this stage of our development is that Luther did consider himself to be under "torture" when he was in the monastery's first years, and that he is on record to that effect not only early but also in clear and simple fashion. The outline of the progress of his soul from

1505 to the great attack is here simply sketched. Noteworthy in the letter are first, the swing of the letter around the word penitence, which is the key word to the opening of his public dispute; second, the powerful freeing influence of linguistic scholarship; third, the definite affirmation of the method of history and experience as opposed to the method of the scholastics in the fine sentence including "not to be read in books only"; fourth, the appearance of the central figure in the phrase that suggests that the "wounds of the sweetest Saviour" will lead to understanding of the commands of God. This phrase and point of view is directly allied with the great advice of the man to whom this letter is written that Luther look upon the wounds of Christ when he sought comfort for his fears of predestined damnation, which advice will be considered at a later point. Again it is seen by implication at least that the years of Luther's study found him leading from Staupitz to Scripture, and finding in Scripture sufficient weight of evidence to completely free him from the earlier necessity of viewing the "metanoia" as "poenitentiam agere". The fact that in his early years in the monastery he did consider the "do penance" in a rather exalted sense, and that he was hard pressed by its lack of assurance, is an absolute prerequisite for the writing of this letter.

ISSS to the great attack is here simply mentioned. Corresponding to the letter are first, the setting of the letter around the word punctuation, which is the key word to the opening of the public library; second, the powerful present influence of Longwell's secularism; third, the definite affirmation of the method of history and experience as opposed to the method of the rationalists in the fine sentence including "not to be read in books only"; fourth, the appearance of the central figure in the phrase that suggests that the "wounds of the spiritual System" will lead to understanding of the commands of God. This phrase and point of view is directly allied with the great advice of the man to whom this letter is written that letters look upon the work of Christ which he alone is concerned for his years of professedly dramatic, which advice will be considered at a later point. Again it is seen by implication at least that the years of Dodder's study from Philip Doddridge from Stoughton to Sunderland, and finding in Christmas Evans a right of evidence to completely free life from the mental necessity of viewing the "materialist" as "unsentimental people". The last text in his early years in the Commonwealth is his advice that "do powerful" in a rather exalted sense, and that he was hard pressed by the load of assurance. In a peculiar preparedness for the writing of John Parker,

There is another line of Catholic reasoning that calls for our brief attention here. Denifle states[27] that if Luther went to excess in this monastic life, his was the fault, not the Order to which he belonged. Now this can readily be granted without the slightest injustice either to the Order or to Luther. Luther's was the problem, Luther's the conscience, and the Order was but the "way" through which that conscience was seeking its comfort. Therefor we need not contend that the Order made Luther go to these extremes - but rather with better historic justice should we say that Luther himself in his restless quest was always eager to go beyond the requirements of his Order. Now it is to the point to suggest that the theory of the Order was such as would lead Luther to believe that an increase of devotion would produce an increase of satisfaction.[28] And since, even for Denifle, many of the Order's checks on excessive devotion were in the defense of normal health, it is not out of place to suggest that Luther was not interested in normal health, but would "willingly have died to have purchased peace with Christ."[29] The Luther mind in the early monastic years was unquestionably a mind set to a single task, and all the conservative suggestions of the Order would by the nature of the

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27 - Denifle, i, 394.
28 - Above, page 27.
29 - Quoted by Köstlin, Theol. i, 58. from EA. op. ex. XX, 281-2.

There is another line of critical reasoning that calls for our brief examination here. Demitia argues[27] that if Luther went to excess in this monastic life, his was the fault, not the Order to which he belonged. How this can readily be reduced without the slightest injurious relation to the Order or to Luther, Luther's was the problem, Luther's the responsibility, and the Order was but the "way" through which that consciousness was seeking its comfort. Therefore we need not contend that the Order made Luther go to those extremes - but rather with better historic justice should we say that Luther himself in his zealous quest was always eager to go beyond the requirements of his Order. Now it is to this point he suggest that the theory of the Order was such as would lead Luther to believe that an increase of devotion would produce an increase of satisfaction.[28] And since, even for Demitia, many of the Ordens ideals or excessive devotion were in the defense of normal health, it is not out of place to suppose that Luther was not interested in normal health, but would "willingly have died to have performed peace with God."[29] The Luther who in the early monastic years was unmoralistic-only a mind not yet a single base, and all the conservative suggestions of the Order would by the nature of the

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27 - Demitia, 1, 104.
28 - Above, page 27.
29 - A Year by Martin, Proof, 1, 58. from Ia. op. ex. Ia, 1515-2.

case be overlooked. This is only to say that had Luther not departed from within the borders of Catholicism, she would be doing him great honor for this his early desire to outdo himself in monastic application. Let the "fault" be his, it ought to be his; for he would willingly admit his overpowering desire to find the peace offered by the Church.

With Denifle's concluding statement on Luther and his early monastic experience, I find considerable sympathy.

> "But there is one thing to be henceforth forevermore stricken out of every Luther legend, whether my result be accepted or not, and that is the twofold assertion current to this day: 1. That the excessive works of penance, alleged to have been taken upon himself by Luther, the monk, were in the spirit of the Church and of his Order, and 2. That those works of penance were offered to the monk Luther by the Church and the Order, as means and supports by which he might propitiate the stern Judge, get a merciful God, blot out sins, and find God and heaven."[30]

Now this terrific difference of opinion may be cleared up some in my judgment if we be willing to grant the main thesis of Denifle, namely, that blame for the condition out of which Luther came be not laid on the Church Ideal. It is apparent that Denifle is putting the Church's finest tradition forward in defense of his argument, and that seldom does he take advantage of

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30 - Denifle, i, 440.

case be overlooked. This is only to say that had Luther not departed from within the borders of Catholicism, one would be doing his great honor for this only leaving to which Miscelf in monastic spiritation. Let the "fault" be his, it cannot be his; for he would willingly avoid his overpowering desire to find the peace offered by the Church.

With Denifle's concluding statement on Luther and his really monastic experience, I find considerable sympathy.

> "But there is one thing to be remembered forever: everyone should be aware of every Luther's sense, whether by fault be accepted or not, and that is the Church's reaction against to this fact: 1. That the excessive works of penance, alleged to have been taken upon himself by Luther, the monk, were in the spirit of the Church and of his order, and 2. That these works of penance were offered to the monk Luther by the Church and the Order, as means and purposes by which he might propitiate the wrath, judge, not a merciful God, but our sins, and find God and heaven."[30]

How this temporal difference of opinion may be sincere on some in my judgment if we be willing to grant the main thesis of Denifle, namely, that blame for the condition out of which Luther came do not lie on the Church first. It is apparent that Denifle is putting the Thomistic finest tradition forward in defense of his argument, and that author seldom does he take advantage of

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30 - Denifle, i, 4ff.

a principle which he admits, namely, that the local situation in which Luther got started might not measure up to the ideal of the Church. Regardless of this element, I prefer to find my standing ground at this point on the contention that it is Luther and not the Church that is wrong, though the wrongness of Luther finds, at first, abundant food and support within the Church. Many a young man enters the ministry of a church which has long taught a gracious God, only to find that even within its ministry he must struggle through for himself. Suffice it to say, in what is to me conclusive proof that the Church need not suffer overmuch here, that the healing elements that came to Luther, came through this same Church.

#4. Reflections on His First Celebration of the Mass.

The view of Luther's mind available in connection with this first Mass is very interesting and shows the two lines of thought, contentment and terror, existing side by side. In this connection comes the first letter of Luther that we have; it is addressed to John Braun of Eisenach, and was written from Erfurt April 22, 1507.

a principle which he avoids, namely, that the local situation in which Luther was placed did not measure up to the talent of the church. Regardless of this criticism, I prefer to view my discussion around at this point on the conception that it is Luther and not the Church that is weak, though the accomplices of Luther fight at first, attempt food and support within the Church. Many a young man enters the ministry of a church which has long turned a cold, cold, only to find that even with in the ministry he must struggle through for himself, sacrifice little by, in what is to be conclusive proof that the church need not matter overmuch here, that the benefits claimed that come to Luther, come through this same church.

Illustration the Great Deliberation of the Mass.

The view of Luther's mind available in conception with this film, Mass is very interesting and shows the two lines of thought, contentment and terror, striking side by side. In this connection comes the first letter of Luther that we have. It is addressed to John Frum of Eisenach, and was written from Erfurt April 22, 1507.

> "Greeting in Christ Jesus our Lord. (.....) God, glorious and holy in all his works, has deigned to exalt me, wretched and unworthy sinner, and to call me into his sublime ministry only for his mercy's sake. I ought to be thankful for the glory of such divine goodness (as much as dust may be) and to fulfil the duty laid upon me.
>
> Wherefore the fathers have set aside the Sunday Cantate (May 2) for my first mass, God willing. That day I shall celebrate mass before God for the first time, the day being chosen for the convenience of my father....."[31]

In the following section of the letter, Luther invites in affectionate language his friend to come and visit him and to be there for the celebration of the mass. It is a letter of special interest. First, the name and thought of Christ can not be said to have been far from his mind, since he opens and closes this letter with the familiar phrase. Second, there is no reflection of unhappiness in the monastic life; on the contrary the letter breathes a certain contentment and joy. Third, there can not be said to be any undue harshness from monastic superiors, for the day of the mass seems to be set to Luther's own convenience, and he is inviting his friends to the celebration, which is of course a standard Catholic custom. Fourth, the letter sets forth the famous contrast that is always a necessary part of Catholic piety and that undoubtedly is of supreme importance

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31 - Smith, Cor. 21. Quoted in translation from Enders i, 1.

"Drawing in Christ Jesus our Lord. (.....)
God, glorious and holy in all his works, has
deigned to exalt me, wretched and unworthy
sinner, and to call me into his sublime min-
istry only for his mercy's sake. I ought to
be thankful for the grace of such divine good-
ness (as much as that may be) and to fulfill the
duty laid upon me.

Therefore the fathers have set aside the Sunday
Vespers (May 2) for my first mass. God willing,
that day I shall celebrate mass before God for
the first time. The day being chosen for the
convenience of my father.....[31]

In the following section of the letter, Ratzeberger invites in affectionate language his friend to come and visit him and to be there for the celebration of the mass. Is it a letter of personal interest. First, the date and place-of Christ can-not be said to have been far from his mind, since he opens and closes this letter with the familiar phrase. Second, there is no reflection of pure pleasure in the monastic life; on the contrary the letter expresses a certain contentment and joy. Third, there can not be said to be any undue hesitancy from monastic surprises, for the day of the mass seems to be as he himself's own convenience, and he is inviting his friends to the celebration, which is of course a standard Catholic custom. Fourth, the letter sets forth the famous sentiment that is always a necessary part of Christ-ian piety and that undoubtedly is of supreme importance

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31 - Ratzeberger, op. cit. Quoted in translation from Kantzenbach.

in the Luther mind, namely, "God, glorious and holy in all his works, ... me, wretched and unworthy sinner..." This mighty gulf fixed between man and God has been prominent in the religious thought of the ages, and Luther is apparently early sensitive of it. Upon the recognition of this contrast and the adjustment necessary in the thought of the individual, hangs the interpretation of many a religious experience, and the understanding of the depths of piety.

Now, assuming this certain contentment at the prospect of celebrating his first mass, and assuming the validity and the reality of the above mentioned contrast in the mind of Luther, what are the reactions of Luther to the celebration of the mass? This is well known and simple of understanding, yet powerfully effective in the analysis of his religious condition. At the thought of addressing God personally, Luther was terror-stricken, the words almost stopped in his throat, his tongue clave to his mouth, he felt an almost uncontrollable desire to turn and run from the altar. The words "Offero tibi Deo meo vivo et vero", brought, says Grisar,[32] "so vividly to his mind the Awful, Eternal Majesty, that he was hardly able to go on." Surely this is not over-strange, nor abnormal. Let it stand in violent light, still it only appears as the expected result in the mind of one

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32 - Grisar, i, 15.

In the Luther-Ring, merely, "God, glorious and holy in all his works, ... God, wondrous and worthy Saviour..." Thus mighty self flies between man and God has been overcome in the religious thought of the ages, and Luther is apparently very sensitive of it. It on the recognition of this condition and the adjustment necessary in the minds of the individual, hence the interpretation of many a religious experience, and the understanding of the depths of piety.

Son, reading this certain consciousness at the prospect of delegating his first mass, and assuming the validity and the reality of the above mentioned conditions in the mind of Luther, what are the reactions of Luther in the celebration of the mass? - This is well known and simply of understanding, yet powerfully effective in the analysis of his religious condition. At the thought of attempting for personally, Luther was terror-stricken, his words almost stopped in his throat, his tongue clave to his roof, he felt an almost uncontrollable desire to run and out from the altar. The words "Ottens tint Deo sed tibi et vero", brought, says Grisar,[32] "an vitality to his mind, his sensual reality, that he was hardly able to go on." Surely this is not over-strange, nor abnormal. Let it stand in violent light, still it only appears as the organized result in the mind of one

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32 - Grisar, I, 15.

who wanders a bit uncertainly in the realms of the sacred. Terror is apparently grounded at this point upon a thorough and vivid sense of the reality of the experience through which he is passing and in which he must operate. A keener sense of the place of the human in the organization of the Church, a maturing consciousness of the dignity and value of the acts of observance, a more finely wrought sense of the quality of the separation of man from God, a firmer grasp of assurance, a little experience in the technique of priesthood, and there shall come a release from this terror. But the terror is here at this first mass, and it shall not completely pass, until the conception of salvation and assurance shall be operating more directly within Luther's own mind. This experience is grounded not only upon the need of clarification of thought, and the need of experience, but also upon the exceedingly sensitive quality of Luther's original sense of sin.

Scheel,[33] however, whose biographical work in Luther is the most outstanding work yet done, severely criticizes all these later records of the excessive terror of the first mass, accounts for them by relegating them to the material which has sprung up through the Table Talk, and through the editions of the lectures which Luther did not personally supervise, and

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33 - Scheel ii, (first edition) 51 f.

who sustains a bit unnaturally in the realms of the sacred. Terror is apparently grounded at this point upon a thoroughly and vivid sense of the reality of the experience through which he is passing and in which he must operate. A keener sense of the place of the human in the organization of the cosmos, a maturing consciousness of the dignity and value of the sole of observance, a more timely thought sense of the quality of the sacrament of man from God, a finer sense of assurance, a little experience in the taunting of priesthood, and there shall come a release from this terror. But the terror is upon this first page, and it shall not completely pass until the suspension of activation and assurance shall be operative even directly within Luther's own mind. This experience is grounded not only upon the need of justification of himself, and the need of experience, but also upon the necessarily normative quality of Luther's original sense of sin.

Unhappily, however, whose biographical work in Luther's is the most overwhelming work yet done, severely criticizes all these later concepts of the normative terror of the first page, accounts for them by relegating them to the material which has sprung up through the Table Talk, and through the additions of the lectures which Luther did not personally lay aside, and

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22 - Schmal 14, (first edition) 81 ".

presents the youthful monk at his first mass as one who is almost wholly overcome by the serious devout faith which is his and which now for the first time bids him address himself to God. It seems to me that Scheel is quite right, and that the literal exactness of the dramatic versions may be seriously challenged, and thereby the real monk may be recovered and we may see him at the altar of the medieval Church with every nerve trembling while the mightiest words known to man come slowly and with difficulty from lips that are not unwilling, but that are as in Hebrew lore silent at the thought of the dread name, yet forced to open.

This Dissertation proceeds on the assumption that the celebration of the first mass shows Luther clearly to be a strong and powerful religious nature, with the warring elements, that later break out openly, now quiet but nevertheless present, with mind alternating between joy and dread, with no particular evidence of doubt of the validity and efficacy of the mass, but with sufficient doubt of his own worthiness to celebrate it. I interpret his reaction to it as evidence of sincerity as well as of uncertainty in his religious thought.

presents the spectacle of a man as his first mean as one who is almost wholly overcome by the serious doubt faith which is his and which now for the first time bids him endeavor himself to God. It seems to me that Spenser is quite right, and that the literal evaluation of the dragon-slayer may be seriously considered, and thereby the real work may be recovered and we may see him at the altar of the mediaval church with every nerve tremblingly while the mighty words known to man come slowly and with difficulty from like that are not unwilling, but time are as in Hebrew love allant at the thought of the dread name, yet forced to open.

This dissertation proceeds on the assumption that the relationship of the first mass dwarf Lathing directly to be a strong and powerful religious nature, with the varying elements, that later break out openly, are quiet but nevertheless present, with a kind alternative between joy and dread, with no particular evidence of sense of the validity and efficacy of the mass, but with sufficient doubt of his own worthiness to celebrate it. I interpret his reaction to it as evidence of ambivalence as well as of uncertainty in his religious interest.

#5. Theological Study

A line of development running parallel to this religious movement is to be sought in the theological instruction in the Erfurt monastery. Here Luther was set to his studies, under what were considered very good teachers. The interplay of theological study and personal experience is very definite and very interesting in Luther. During the same period of years that he was deeply troubled about the assurance of salvation, he was also thoroughly interested in pursuing the theorists of the Church. Inevitably it meant, that in his personal problems every theory of theology would find its final test, and he became by the nature of his situation and the intensity of his restlessness a thoroughgoing religious pragmatist. Likewise the studies brought to the battle ground of his personal faith many a worthy protagonist from the fathers of the Church, the Scholastics, or Scripture itself. The Erfurt monastery took its task of study faithfully, having had a good school in connection with the monastery for over 100 years before Luther came to it, and furnishing in Luther's day the teachers for the theological faculty at the University in Erfurt. This was the same procedure under which Luther was later to work at Wittenberg. The chronology of these years is inadequate in so far as it can not with definiteness be

4b. Theological Study

A line of development running parallel to this religious movement is to be sought in the theological instruction in the Erfurt monastery. Here Luther was set to his studies, under what were considered very good teachers. The integrity of theological study and personal experience is very definite and very tangeble in Luther. During the same period of years that he was deeply troubled about the assurance of salvation, he was also thoroughly interested in pursuing the complete of the church. Inevitably it meant, that in his personal problem every theory of theology would find its final test, and be tested by its nature of his situation and the intensity of his realization a thoroughly religious personalist. Likewise the studies brought to the battle ground of his personal faith many a worthy protagonist from the failure of the Church, the Scholastics, or Scripture itself. The Erfurt monastery took its task of study faithfully. Having had a good school in connection with the monastery for over 100 years before Luther came to it, and furnishing in Luther's day the teachers for the theological faculty at the University in Erfurt. This was the same procedure under which Luther was later to work at Wittenberg. The chronology of these years is inadequate in so far as it was not with intelligence be

ascertained when he began his actual theological study. But it is not of sufficient moment to hold up the investigation of this Dissertation. The opinions of the better Luther biographers are divided between simultaneous study and preparation for ordination on the one hand, and precedence to the preparation on the other.[34]

His study in Erfurt was now under the direction of two rather well known teachers, John Paltz and John Nathin. Since the former was removed from Erfurt to Coblenz in 1507, it is evident that the greater part of Luther's teaching was under Nathin. This is borne out of course, by the correspondence with Nathin, when Luther comes to take his Doctor's degree at Wittenberg instead of Erfurt and Nathin resents it as discourteous.[35]

The atmosphere of the teaching here was entirely scholastic, and within scholasticism, it was Occamist rather than Thomist. So Luther was not given a first hand and sympathetic introduction into the writings of Thomas of Aquinas; though the indictment of Denifle to the effect that he never knew the greatest of scholastics, and that he was a "crass ignoramus" at this point is unjustifiable and has been well answered by Mackinnon, Böhmer, Scheel, and others.[36] Both his teacher, Nathin,

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34 - The major authorities are listed in a very good passage in Mackinnon, i, 43.
35 - For this correspondence, see Smith, Cor. 30.
36 - Denifle, i, 522-23. Mack. i, 55. Böhmer, Eng. Ch. VI. Scheel, ii, 60 f.

and his great superior, Staupitz, had been taught at Tübingen by one of the greatest of the late schoolmen, Gabriel Biel. Biel was what was then called a "modernist", which is to say that he had turned away from Aristotle and the firm rational substructure of the School of Thomas, toward the critical position of the Nominalism[37] of William of Occam. Luther read the works of Biel and his thought was greatly influenced by them. Also he read the works of Occam himself, from which some of the later principles of action of Luther probably received their early impetus. Peter d'Ailly, also a great Occamist, was one of Luther's favorite authors in these months. The actual teaching of Nathin was not of the highest order, but he was teaching in the reigning tradition. And this tradition was such as to set certain well-defined moves, of which the most im-

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37 - With reference to the existence of this Nominalistic School and Luther's training in it, it is quite to the point of the whole Luther study to keep in mind the situation described by Ritschl, page 118, "The theological opponents of the Reformation who were exclusively Realists utterly ignore the fact that the Nominalist School throughout an entire century and a half had maintained Pelagian doctrine in connection with merita de congruo and had overestimated merita de condigno as compared with the merit of Christ; that as a school, Nominalism had received just the same public recognition with Realism; and both scientifically and practically had exercised a more widely extended influence. The Reformers on the other hand, level against scholasticism as a whole, the charges of Pelagianism which are in reality true of the Nominalist doctrine only."

and his great predecessor, Stendhal, had been taught at Schlegel by one of the greatest of the late eighteenth-century critics. That idea was then codified as "romanticism", which is to say that he had turned away from Aristotle and the Nine -rational authoritarians of the school of Thomas, toward the political tradition of the "rationalists" of William of Occam. Luther read the works of Plato and his thought was deeply influenced by them. Also he read the works of Occam himself, from which come of the later principles of action of Luther profoundly received their early impetus. Peter d'Ailly, also a great nominalist, was one of Luther's favorite authors in these studies. The actual teaching of Luther was not of the highest order, but he was speaking in the religious tradition. And this tradition was such as to set continually political forces, of which the most im-

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with reference to the existence of this Nominalistic school and Luther's training in it, it is quite to the point of the whole Luther study to see in what the situation described by Ritschl, page 12, "the theological concepts of the Reformation are very exclusively Platonic-mystic ignore the fact that the logical school throughout the entire century had a fact had a lasting Aristotelian foothold in connection with merits de congruo and had over-emphasized the de condigno as compared with the merit de gratia: that as a school, Nominalism had survived, but the same public recognition with Realism, and both, particularly and practically, had experienced a more highly developed influence. The Reformation on the other hand, level without sophistication, the whole, the theme of justification with and in reality true of the Nominalist doctrine only."

portant were probably the distrust of Aristotelian logic as proof of Christian doctrine, and the famous Occamistic distrust of the voice of authority. Luther shows a decided tendency toward each of these and there is no reason to doubt a casual connection between his own point of view and his training in this school. The anti-Aristotle emphasis is quite apparent through all of Luther's work, and it finds classic Reformation expression in the Loci Communes of Melanchthon, when he refers to the entrance of Aristotelian thought into the stream of Christian doctrine as a "pollution."[38] Now the historic alliance of Thomas and Aristotle is well known, and the historic disalliance of Occam and Aristotle, equally well known.[39] So that the theological training of Luther places him directly in a line that is not entirely sympathetic to Thomas of Aquinas, and therefore gives some point to Denifle's contention that he did not know Thomas. For example Luther speaks in the following way at one point of his connection with Thomas:

> "Scotus contraxit Thomam. Super 4 Sententiarum ist er besser den Thomas, ubi tamen Thomas est laudatissimus. Cum essem iuvenis theologus et deberem facere ex una quaestione novem corrolaria accipiebam haec duo vocabula: Deus creavit, da gab mir Thomas wol 100 quaestiones drauff. Porro hic est Thomas ordo: Principio accipit sententias ex Paulo, Petro,

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38 - Quoted by Moeller, iii, 42.
39 - See Harnack, DG. vi, 151 f.

portant were probably the distrust of Aristotelian logic as proof of Christian doctrine, and the focus Occamistic dislike of the notion of authority. Further above a definite tendency toward each of these was there is no reason to doubt a causal connection between his own point of view and his training in this school. The anti-Aristotelian emphasis is quite apparent throughout all of Luther's work, and it plays already before-hand extensive in the last decades of Reformation, when he refers to the authority of Aristotle though that the extent of Christian teaching as a "pollution."[45] Now the historical alliance of Thomas and Aristotle is well known, and the Aristotelian disciplines of Occam and Aristotle equally well known. So that the theological training of Luther places him directly in a line that is but circuitously traceable to Thomas of Aquinas, and therefore gives some point to Denifle's contention that he did not know Thomas. Therefore is Luther speaks in the following way at one point of his connection with Thomas:

> "Nostra contradicit Thomae. Sed ego Deo magis
> eorum iste ex beneficio Dei Thomam, sed eorum
> Thomam non Christiana. Quo enim invenit
> theologia et theologos ex ipsa quaestione
> nostra sophistica multiplex Dei vocabulo:
> Deus omnipotens, da gnade Thomas und 100 mensa-
> tiones dicunt. Porro hic est Thomas opinio:
> Christiato nostri sententias ex Paul. Porro.

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45 - Quoted by Denifle, iii, 42.
46 - See Harnack, op. vi, 121 f.

> Iohanne, Esaia etc., postea concludit: Aristoteles autem sic dicit, et secundum Aristotelem interpretatur scripturam..."[40]

This is clear evidence of course of his protest against the Thomistic exaltation of Aristotle, particularly in connection with Scripture. It is to be remembered that the sentence here quoted is from the period long after that covered by this Dissertation, yet it is significant in the light of the fact that his early study was also anti-Thomistic, and that he escaped from the influence of his early school only by a retreat to Scripture, not to Thomas. The doctrine of Christ and of justification held and taught by Thomas would have been much nearer to Luther's need and desire, than that of the Occamist school. Nevertheless the fact is that Luther was an "Occamist and a Gabrielist".[41] And the point at which most influence was being made on Luther's personal problem was a point where the Occamists were particularly adapted to do him harm rather than help. They held to the possibility of the will being able to accomplish what it set out to do, and thus gave an undergirding to Luther's strenuous effort to produce the sense of assurance. Man was able by the strength of his own will to persevere in the religious calling. They taught that the will was always unconditioned and was more real than the

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40 - WA. TR. i, 117-118.
41 - WA. vi, 195.

Ichemon, Zeus etc., poetas concludit:
Aristoteles autem sic dicit, et secundum
Aristoteles inconsideratur scripserunt..."[40]

This is about evidence of course of his p-otent against the Theoretic exaltation of Aristotle, specifically in connection with Sinistere. It is to be remembered that the equivocus here quoted is from the period long after that covered by this dissertation, yet it is significant in the light of the such that the early study was also anti-Theoretic, and that to changed from the influence of his early school only by a reduced concentrcyre, not reversed. The doctrine of Christ and of justification and inspirit by Thomas would have been much nearer to Luther's mind and heart, than that of the occamist school. Nevertheless the fact is that Luther was an "occamist and a Ockhamist".[41] And the point at which inconsistency was being made on Luther's personal problem was a point where the occamists were particularly adapted to do him more rather than help. They led to the possibility of one will being able to accomplish what it set-out to do, and thus gave an underpinning to Luther's strenuous effort to produce the terms of reconciliation. Man was able by the strength of his own will to persevere in the religious calling. They caught that the will was always unconditioned and was more real than the

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40 - Eck. Op. I, 117-119.
41 - Ek. 116.

corresponding act of acceptance on the part of God.[42] True it is that they were willing theoretically to found their doctrine of justification, remission of sins, etc. upon the merit of Christ, but they then proceed so to condition the operation of grace upon the human will, that it was after all, the action of the human will that did the effective work. They counted this human activity under two main lines of thought; an action of the human will to cooperate with God was necessary first, and this is the merita de congruo, then there is necessary for the continuance of the grace so won, an action of the human will in deeds and works, a merita de condigno.[43] This is the position of the Nominalist school in which Luther was first instructed. It is of course far from the position of the simpler affirmation of the all-conquering grace of Augustinian thought, far also from the more tempered Augustinianism of Aquinas. But it is the thought in which Luther was reared, which led him to the position he held, and which he combatted all his life, thinking, perhaps, that he was combatting the whole of Catholic thought. The Christ offered to him under such a system could indeed be the fountain of merit, and psalm and service could indeed praise him as the source of redemption; but man still had to incline

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42 - Ritschl, Hist. 87.
43 - Ibid, 89.

correspondingly are of acceptance on the part of God.[46] Here it is that they were willing unconditionally to resume their doctrine of justification, restriction of rites, etc. upon the basis of Christ, but they then proceed to so condition the operation of grace upon the human will, that it was given all, the action of the human will that the efficacious work. They contrived to the human activity under two main lines of thought: an action of the human will in acceptance with God was necessary first, and this is the merits de congruo, then there is necessary for the continuance of the grace so won, an action of the human will in deeds and works, a merits de condigno.[47] This is the position of the Nominalist school in which Luther was first instructed. It is of course far from the position of the simplest affirmation of the all-concluding grace of Augustinian thought, far also from the more improved Aquinistic of Aquinas. But it is the theology in which Luther was reared, which led him to the position he held, and which he combated all his life: thinking, perhaps, that he was combatting the whole of Catholic thought. The Church offered to his mother-church a system could indeed be the foundation of merit, righteous and acceptable unto God, indeed praise the grace of redemption; but was still had to include

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46 - Kidd, Stat. 97.
47 - Ibid, 98.

his will to receive the grace that was made possible through the passion of Christ, and man still had to live in good works in order to insure the continuance of the grace. For the religious consciousness, this kind of a merit in the passion of Christ is no merit at all, for it is in practice wholly dependent upon the will of the man, and he feels himself constantly too sinful to merit even the results of the merit of Christ. There is under this system, available for Luther neither an historic Christ upon whom he can build, nor the inner Christ of the more imaginative piety of mysticism. Christ was as yet unattainable. The doctrine of the will's absolute and necessary activity was to Luther a lash to feelings already supersensitive. The gentler advice about to come from Staupitz would certainly be welcome.

#6. Biblical Study

This theological study was paralleled by a study of the Bible. There has been some dispute among the writers relative to the extent to which the Bible was read and known in the monastery.[44] In this particular case, however, it was required by the statutes of the Order. At this point, there is no essential dis-

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44 - Grisar, i, 14-17.

agreement between the better Luther biographers, as for example, Grisar, Denifle, Scheel, Oergel, MacKinnon, etc. And to the fact that he not only was permitted to read and study the Bible, but was also given a copy for his own use and did use it to very good advantage, the following passage from the Tischreden may bear witness:

> "Ibi monachi ei dederunt bibliam rubro corio tectam. Eam adeo familiarem sibi fecit, ut, quid in uno quoque folio contineretur, nosset et statim, cum sententia aliqua offeretur, primo intuitu, ubi scripta esset, scirer: Eam si retinuissem, inquit, mire bonus localis biblicus essem; necque mihi tum, inquit, aliud studium placuit quam sacrarum literarum. Cum miro taedio legebam physica, et ardebat animus, cum redeundum esset ad biblia. Usus autem sum glosa ordinaria. Lyram contemnebam, quanquam post viderem eum valera ad historiam. Diligenter autem legebam biblia; ..."[45]

That instruction in the Bible, as independent of the general instruction was given him, it not so certain. The medieval Church had ample cause to beware of the independent study of the Bible, and Luther met this point of view in his own study, as is evident from the delightful reminiscence of his conversation with Usingen, one of the teachers of Erfurt.

> "Doctor Usinger, praeceptor meus, dixit ad me, cum ita amabam scripturam: Quid est biblia? Oportet doctores veteres legere, qui suxerunt veritatem ex biblia. Biblia est omnium seditionum occasio...."[46]

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45 - WA. TR. i, 44.
46 - WA. TR. ii, 5-6.

Each of the quotations brings its proof to the point that the Bible was freely available for Luther. The only suggestion to the contrary, comes out of the tradition that he was forbidden by his teacher (probably Nathin) to read it, and that only upon the interference of Staupitz was it again possible for him to do so. This is at best, however, only a partial prohibition, and lasted only for a brief period. It may even be only a reminiscence of the unfriendly attitude that many of the teachers, such as Usingen, had to the independent study of Scripture. One must depart from all normal historic criteria to make out a case for the deprivation of the Bible study to the monk Luther. He read it long and carefully; he grounded himself in it to such an extent that he felt free to quote it from memory throughout the great lectures that came when he entered on his own Bible teaching. Surely, then, we must not overlook the great source of information that came to his seeking mind and heart from this study. What came later to public expression in the lectures on Psalms and Romans, was now beginning to spread its leaven through his thought, and very true it must have been that his mind and heart sought continual refreshment from the Scripture. The copy of the Scripture given him when he entered the Erfurt study, was with regret left behind him when he was called to Wittenberg. The Christ in the Gospels, was above all else, the Christ

Much of the generations before are proof to the point that the Bible was freely available for Luther. The only suggestion to the contrary, so far as our the prohibition that he was forbidden by his superiors personally certain to read it, and that only upon the interference of Staupitz did it again become possible for him so do so. This is at least, however, only a partial prohibition, and lasted only for a brief period. It may even be only a reminiscence of the hierarchy attitude that many of the teachers, much to Luther, had to the indispensable study of Scripture.[5] One must depend from all reports historic criteria to make out a case for the deprivation of the Bible study by the monk Luther. He had it locked or [illegible] by [illegible] himself in [illegible] to such an extent that he felt free to quote it from memory in [illegible] the lectures that came when he [illegible] on his own Bible exercise. Surely, then, we must not overlook the great source of information that came to his receptive mind and heart from this study.

Most much later to a little appreciation in the lectures on Psalms and Romans, was now beginning to spread its leaven through his thought, and very true it must have been that his mind and heart sought continual refreshment from the Scriptures. The edge of the Scriptures given to him by [illegible] the Vicar [illegible], was with regret left behind the [illegible] he was called to Wittenberg. The [illegible] in the Gospels, was above all else, the chief

in the Pauline letters was beginning to supplant the Christ of his popular tradition long before there was any external evidence of the process. Here is to me the beginning of his change from fear to faith. It is no wonder that the monk was thrown into the depths of despair when, in his already sensitive condition, he was being led through the paths of Occamist theory and Pauline experience at one and the same time. The Pauline will win, but the struggle will be long. It is not without justification that at this point Smith[47] says that Luther's struggle is the struggle to free himself from the Occamist doctrine of the supremacy of the human will. He is never to lose his first love for the study of Scripture, and is to protest in his early teaching days on the necessity of teaching philosophy instead of theology, while theology becomes, as soon as he lectures on it, an interpretation of Scripture. So here in his old red-covered text of Scripture, is Luther's first great love, and first great freedom. Now it may also be pointed out that the message to which he clings with unbreakable bonds is the message of Jesus. When fully developed, his Biblical interpretation is Christocentric; we may therefore with historic justice, assume that those most precious things of his early Scripture findings, were relative to

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47 - Smith, 13.

in the Faustian letters was beginning to supplant the
spirit of his popular tradition long before there was
any external evidence of the process. Here is one
the beginning of his change from fear to faith. It is
to mention that the work was thrown into the depths of
despair when, in his already somewhat critical
was being led through the paths of Goethe's theory and
Faustian experience at one and the same time. The Faustian
will stay, but the strength will be lost. It is not with-
out justification that at this point Smith[47] says that
interest wrought by the struggle to free himself from
the Calvinistic doctrine of the sinfulness of the human will,
he is never to lose his first love for the study of Scrip-
ture, and is to propose in his early teaching days on the
morality of teaching philosophy instead of theology,
still believing however, as soon as he touches on it,
an interpretation of Scripture. So here in his old-
fashioned text of Scripture, in turnabout first great love,
and first great fear. Now it may also be pointed out
that the message to which he clings with unbreakable bonds
is the message of Jesus. When fully developed, his Scrip-
tural interpretation is Christocentric so any alternative
which measure Jesus, assume that those most precious
things of his early Scripture reading, were relative to

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47 - Smith. 13.

the story it told of Jesus, especially the story it told of the Christ of Pauline faith. Inevitably, by the necessities of human nature, he whose major problem of assurance would cull out of the text the solutions of the problems there given. Thus his own monastic striving for the fulfilment of the religious observances, would find its parallel in the Pauline attitude toward the law, and his own soul would be attracted to the Pauline solution through faith in Jesus. This necessity we shall see to be a fact as the years go on and he becomes more and more immersed in Scriptural thought.

#7. The Counsel to Study Bernard

Definitely helpful influences are to be acknowledged in the work of the confessor of the monastery assigned to Luther, and to "an old monk", possibly the Master of the Novices. The former enters the story with Luther's own reminiscence:

> "Leve verbum in tentatione animum revocat. Dixit aliquando ad me meus confessor, cum subinde stulta peccata ad eum afferem: Stultus es. Deus non succenset tibi, sed tu succenses ei. Deus non irascitur tecum, sed tu cum Deo...."[48]

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48 - WA. TR. i, 47, lines 21-30.

Such advice is not to be overlooked in the evidence that leads to the reorganization of Luther's thought. The principle was right, and Luther was prohibited from following it out thoroughly only by the fact that he had no accurate, and to him, conclusive evidence that the statement of the confessor was true to the religious experience. This evidence would come to him only when he came to see the love of God as assured in the person and work of Christ. Nevertheless this is a turning of his mind toward that same kind of thing which Staupitz suggested to him when he told him that love of God was central in religious life. Also the advice of the master of novices, or the preceptor, came to him with no little force. Troubled about the Sacrament of Penance, (as he was always troubled about this Sacrament), Luther was led by the preceptor to see that he wrongly held doubt in his mind, for his very Apostles' creed commanded him to believe in the forgiveness of sins. The Sacrament of Penance is the point at which the forgiveness of sins comes into sharp relief, and is therefore the point at which Luther would be most deeply troubled. It is this way throughout his entire life - he never quite knows what to do about a sacrament that considers the forgiveness of sins. But now he is being told that on the authority of the Creed itself, he is to believe in the forgiveness of sins. It is this same pre-

ceptor who leads Luther to the study of Bernard, by pointing out to him a passage from a sermon of Bernard.

> "Sein praeceptor sagte ihm: 'nescis, quod ipse dominus jussit nos sperare?' verweis auf das 'credo -- remissionem peccatorum', das jeder einzelne sich aneignen müsse, und verstärkte seine Mahnung durch Hinweis auf eines der worte Bernhards v. Clairvaux über das justificari fide."[49]

So is Luther led, with this clarifying passage, into the writings of one of the greatest of the medieval Christians, of whom he became very fond, even to the point of saying of him that he held him in higher love than all the other monks.[50] Again in reference to him, he will speak as follows:

> "Bernardus in sermonibus suis omnes alios doctores, etiam ipsum Augustinum excellit, quia Christum pulcherrime praedicat, sed in disputationibus suis plane sui est dissimilis et omnino contrarius sibi in sermonibus...."[51]

This reflects the dual character of Bernard's position in Christian thought.[52] From the point of view of Christian piety, there are few, if any saints, who outrank the great Abbot of Clairvaux, but when that same abbot finds himself involved in the defense of the accepted tradition in thought or organization, then as Luther so well says, we have a man contradicting himself. But when it comes to reading Bernard for the first time,

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49 - Loofs, Lf. 687. Footnote #5 quotes the passage from Bernard.
50 - Stoors, Bernard of Clairvaux, 15. Give the Luther reference.
51 - WA. TR. i, 435-436.
52 - Compare Ritschl, Hist. III, #17. Lindsay, i, 433.

as Luther is reading him in the Erfurt monastery, it is hard to escape the great evaluation that he places on Jesus. This has been recognized by all who have read him, from Calvin[53] to our own churches who sing his great hymns of the passion of Christ - "O sacred head, now wounded..."

The idea of Christ which would be made available for Luther through this study in Bernard, is quite important for his own now fluent thought. Without going into detail on the doctrinal positions of Bernard, we may with a certain degree of assurance suggest his Christology, in particular, that element of it which concerns the redemptive aspect.

> "Notwithstanding these fundamental views which are genuinely Catholic, Bernard is very far indeed in his sermons from countenancing any trust in the present works of the free will aided by grace. ...Paradoxically, he says that the humility which renounces all claim to merit, and trusts in God alone, is the only merit which has any value. But not only does he affirm God's grace to be the sole sufficient foundation on which the state of grace depends in all its stages, in order to counteract every temptation to self-righteousness; he gives prominence also to the mercy of God, in the sense that it alone in the constant imperfection of all good works and merits, can be a ground of confidence that we are in a state of grace. In this matter Bernard reaches precisely the way of thinking that is habitual with Luther. ... In this view of faith Bernard again necessarily rises to the level of Luther's thought, for mere intellectual belief and the faith that is formed by love alike fall short of what these statements express; ..."[54]

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53 - Calvin, Institutes.
54 - Ritschl, Hist. 98 f.

This shows undoubtedly that Bernard is linking the thoughts of grace and justification together, and is suggesting to Luther a way by which he can find release from his struggle to distil assurance from merit, a way to creative confidence in God's own work of grace. That Bernard ever comes to the place where he shifts the supreme weight to Christ is not the case. But he is in this beginning a real guide to Luther, and he does combine with this line of thought such an appreciation of the passion of Christ in a mystical sense, that it is not improbable that Luther could himself make the connection which Bernard omitted to make. It is not the characteristics of Bernard that are suggested by the quotation from Ritschl just given, which play the heaviest part in the earlier thought of Luther; they are the product of long thought. But the line of purer Christology that comes from Augustine with but a little mediation through Bernard to Luther is the more important. Loofs[55], with fine quotations from the writings of Bernard, comes to the conclusion that Bernard sets forth a Christology grounded upon the historic Christ, yet deep and rich with the mystic type of thought.

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55 - Loofs, Lf. 521-525. The quotation is from 523.

> "Bernhards Frömmingkeit ist sehr stark beeinflusset von Augustins religiöser Schätzung der geschichtlichen 'humilitas Christi': seine devotio richtet sich zunächst auf die geschichtliche Gestalt Jesu, seine Niedrigkeit und Demut, seine Leiden und sein Kreuz; der geschichtliche Heiland ist ihm der gnadenreiche und daher allerschönste Freund und Bräutigam der Seele. Aber Bernard führt seltener von dem Menschen Jesu weg zum 'verhum'; er hat Gott in dem geschichtlichen (num erhöhten) Christus: ....".

These two considerations, first, that suggested in the Ritschl quotation, namely, that the problem of redemption is one of grace, and second, that suggested by the quotation from Loofs, namely, on the possession of God in Christ, produce leading lines to Luther's forming thought. It is the well-known Augustinian tradition that thus through the personality of Bernard is making another approach to Luther. Christ and the Cross become the foundations of the entire structure of his thought, and Luther will be able to avoid the sacrifice of this point of view which Bernard made in his scholasticism.

#8. The Christological Emphasis of the Study

The Christologies which Luther studied assumed as fundamental theory, the main Catholic conception that salvation comes to man from God through Christ. This could well be granted and could be found in almost all of the great teachers from Augustine down. But the

great point at issue came when the position of the human will was being assigned. What, if anything, could man do to win this grace. The Church had never been wholly Augustinian, but had always been in its official pronouncements at least semi-Pelagian, and this for the obvious reasons of the practical implications. It is interesting to note at this point, that when the Church was forced to define anew her doctrines at the Council of Trent, the Jesuit argument that enabled semi-Pelagian views to win out over stricter Augustinian views, was the old argument from the practical implications. The later Schoolmen had all, and particularly these whom Luther is studying[56], modified the Augustinian position. They had built up a substantial system of merit through works, based though it might have been, on the underlying grace. Only to the doctors, and to few of them, is it given to search the depths of a doctrine; the great majority will all remain on the surface of the latest emphasis, or win their own way back to the essential only with difficulty. So when Luther came to the study of the place of Christ in the scheme of salvation in the later scholastics, he really found a system which had Christ at its core, but which had long since fenced him in with an intricate system of

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56 - Occam, Biel, etc.

great point at issue arose when the position of the human will was being assigned. That, it appears, would have to be with this group. The Church had never been wholly consistent, but had always been in its official pronouncements at least semi-Pelagian, and this for the obvious reason of the unwelcomed implications. It is interesting to note at this point, when even the Church was forced beyond the Aves of the Council of Trento, the Jesuits argument that semi-Pelagian views to win out over strictest augustinian views, was the old argument from the practical implications. Men have succumbed to all, and nationally (for when Luther in ordinary, modified the Augustinian position. They had built up a substantial system of merit through works, based though it might have been, on the underlying grace. Only on the contrary, and to tender them, is it given to secure the double or a doctrine: the great authority will all remain on the surface of the latent sequence, or win their way back to the essential only with difficulty. So when Luther came on the study of the Bible or Christ in the manner of salvation in the later scholastics, he really found a system which had failed as its core, but which had long since found him in with an inclusive system of

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58 - Cocom, Op. cit.

penance and merit. The increasing emphasis on the human will only made the difficulty worse, for the strength of the human will now became the bulwark of assurance, and Luther found precious little assurance in it. As his study carried him farther back, however, into the earlier schoolmen, he found increasingly hopeful hints for his perplexity. Peter Lombard set forth sharply the Augustinian doctrine with its great cardinal points of sin and grace, but his divergence from Augustine in ascribing a certain amount of preparatory power to the free will, is not sufficient to completely depress Luther, yet is sufficient to keep him out of his holy land. Bonaventure, Anselm, Aquinas all are based on the great substructure of Augustine, but all in greater or less degree, depart from him on the all important issue of the place of human will. Yet it is true that they were all leading him back to the great master Augustine.

The issues which were confronting him at this time are issues of personal religion, but the solutions are being sought in the realms of systematic thought. Now the combination of these two realms is quite apparent in Augustine; more than in any other of the great Church Fathers is Augustine a product of his own religious experience. His every theological move is grounded eventually on his experience. He knows no

criteria but those of experience, even those of the historic Church experience as well as his own experience. Grace occupies the place it does, not from logic, but from the fact that only Grace could in his mind have rescued him from the depths of depravity to which he had sunk. Sin is central, because for Augustine sin was central. Grace is irresistible because he could not resist it. The human will is impotent because his was impotent. And finally when he turns to the Scriptural story for confirmation for these concepts, he finds it. His sinful nature finds its cause in Adam, his doctrine of the enslaved will finds an affirming voice in Paul. And, what is of supreme importance for us, his Christ of faith and experience becomes the great liberating agent of the whole Scriptural story; metaphysics clothes with dignity the humble human experience. So when the scholastic study leads Luther back to Augustine; and when his teachers and superiors point him to Augustine, they are leading like to like, where a common language will make the passage of experience relatively easy.

#9. <u>The Study of Augustine</u>

It is with a very great deal of growing satisfaction, then that he must have read the pages of St. Augustine, whom now he began to study, and than whom

epitaphs not those of experience, even those of the dialectic Dhumb experience as well as his own experience. Where concerning the piano it does, not from truth, but from the fact that only there could in his mind have resumed life from the depths of depravity to which he had sunk. His is another, because for Augustine sin was content. Odysse is irresistible because we could not resist it. The hymn will is important because his was impotent. And finally when he turns to the Sentiment every for confirmation for these concepts, he finds it, the stubbl a pure finds its name in Alex, his conviction of the emotional will finds an efficacious voice in Paul. And, when in our Western temperance for us, his desert of faith and experience becomes the great literature event of the whole Christianized ethos; metaphysics clothed with dignity the tremble human experience. So when the scholastic study finds Luther back to Augustine; and when his teachers and exemplars point him to Augustine, they are leaving life on life, moves a deeper language will make the passage of experience relatively easy.

40. The Study of Augustine

It is with a very great deal of growing satisfaction, then that he must have read the pages of Augustine, when one be taken to study, and then when

no Father of the Church could speak more directly and more strongly on the very points at which the young monk felt himself lost. The residue of his speculative difficulties began to be dissolved in the presence of Augustine's historical piety. A strong and a new conception of Christ began slowly to establish itself in his heart.

> "Die fides incarnationis im Sinne Augustine ist aber schon in dieser Zeit für Luther besonders wichtig gewesen; 'credere est in humanitatem eius credere, quae nobis data est in hac vita pro vita et salute'."[57]

Unquestionably this would have been and was a light in darkness, an opening door through which he might start toward the fuller conception of Christ which was his final attainment. The books of Augustine which Luther certainly read are happily known to us, and the notes which Luther inserted here and there in the margins of his copy can be read today.[58] These marginal notes do not yield the harvest that one might expect from the constant reference which Luther makes in later years to Augustine, nevertheless they show a thorough and a critical reading, as one might expect from a man who was soon able to name as spurious one of the writings attributed

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57 - Loofs, 691. See below, page 65.
58 - WA. IX, 2-28. The introductory material here discusses the problem of the date of Luther's reading. This does not seriously effect this thesis so long as it falls within the years 1507-12, which it unquestionably does.

no trace of the church could every more directly and even strongly on the very points at which the young man felt himself lost. The reality of his imaginative difficulties began to be dissolved in the presence of Augustine's interpretive virtue. A strong and a new conception of Christ began slowly to establish itself in his heart.

> "Christus Jesus, Dominus in Sinus Augustine
> Est quem nobis in dextera Patris mittam
> Beneficium visibile ipsorum Ecclesiae sui in
> Sacramentis quinque, quorum nobis data
> Est in hac vita pro vita et salute."[57]

Unquestionably this would have been and was a light in darkness, an opening through which he might direct toward the central conception of Christ which was his final satisfaction. The books of Augustine which Brent certainly read are carefully known to us, and the notes which Lester inserted here and there in the margins of his copy can be read today.[58] These marginal notes do not yield the harvest that one might expect from the constant reference which Brent makes in later years to Augustine, nevertheless they show a thorough and a critical reading, as one might expect from a man who was soon able to name as previous one of the writings contributed

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57 - Lecture, 60. See notes, page 57.
58 - Vol. II, 2-3. The laboratory material here discussed includes the results of the data of Putnam's reading. This does not sentimentally effect that claim so long as it falls within the years 1907-12, which it unquestionably does.

to Augustine.[59] Let one or two examples suffice to show how he was organizing his thought of Christ. These are marginal notes to "De Trinitate":

To Augustine's phrase - "Vetus homo noster simul crucifixus"- Luther adds this marginal note - "Crucifixio Christi"

Est { Sacramentum / Exemplum quia { significat sic crucem poenitentiae / Hortatur pro veritate corpus morti

{ in qua moritur anima peccato / offerre vel cruci.

Later occurs the very interesting marginal note:[60]

Ut Mors Christi { redimat animam a morte, sic per mortem suam mortem momordit. / faciat animam mori peccato, ut sic simus crucifixi mundo et mundus nobis.

Aliud est mori { Christo / mundo { Et utrunque Christi facit mors Sic vivere { Christo / mundo { est resurrectio.

No modern historian has a better right to pass a judgment on the effect of the mind of Augustine upon the mind of Luther than Adolf Harnack, master alike in Augustinian and in Lutheran lore. It is of supreme value then to the position here being pursued, to note his fine description of the movement.

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59 - A good critical estimate of the trend of these notes is found in Böhmer, 95 ff. For example, "Instead of moving freely and unhampered in the rare ether of speculation, he always dropped back again into the old 'method of authority', which Augustine himself had never scorned, and which directed him to seek God in the historical revelation." p. 96.

60 - WA. IX, 18.

> "Augustin war der Theologe der alten Kirche, der gelehrt hatte, dass Gott in uns 'Wollen und Vollbringen' wirke, dass Glaube, Liebe, und Hoffnung Geschenke seiner Gnade seien und dass Gott uns vor jeder Anstrengung im Guten entgegenkomme: darauf sollen wir uns fest verlassen. Als Luther das las, fingen die Anfechtungen an, seltener zu werden -- nicht eine plötzliche Befreiung und Gottesgewissheit erlebte er, sondern allmählich kam er aus der Verzweiflung und Höllenangst heraus. Und merkwürdig: der Friede kam ihm zuerst ins Herz, die seelische Zuversicht früher als die Glaubenseinsicht."[61]

Just above, there is a quotation from Loofs which contains a fragment of a quotation from Luther's Comments on Augustine's De Trinitate. The comment is quite in line with the growing recognition of the centrality of Christ, and more than that, it begins the specific definition of the place and value of Christ through the stress on the historic revelation, i. e., the humanity as opposed to the speculative, the divinity.

> "Sed hoc credere (Luther is commenting on 'Qui credit in me'), est in humanitatem eius credere quae nobis data est in hoc vita pro vita et salute. Ipse enim per fidem suae incarnationis est vita nostra, justitia nostra, et resurrectio nostra."[62]

This is indeed as Loofs has said "besonders wichtig", for it sets forth the great foundation of all his later work. He has learned it from Augustine, and it could

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61 - Harnack, ML. 20.
62 - WA. IX. 17. This is a powerful statement and sets forth clearly the unmistakable centering of thought on the humanity of Christ.

have been Augustine's own phrase. Luther was not the only one to sense these great conceptions when reading in Augustine, for Augustine was the main spring of the entire medieval Church, and sooner or later his thought would flourish in the form in which Luther is here grasping it.

> "Just as surely as the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages was strictly and properly attached to Augustine's school, there must have continued to exist within her along with the theory that turns upon grace and merit, a marked tendency also to the devotional feeling which relies exclusively on God's grace."[63]

Now the beginning of this exclusive reliance on God's grace can be seen in Luther, first when he begins to throw off the Occamist theology for Bernard, etc., and second when he begins to set his eye on the historic revelation in Christ.

Luther's return to the point of view of Augustine was not a movement in which he alone was concerned. On the contrary, the very advice from his superiors to read in Augustine is evidence of the general acceptability of the great African father. The fact of membership in the Augustinian Order carries with it an especial interest in Augustine. Ritschl also maintains that there was at the end of the fifteenth century a general return to the fundamental

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63 - Ritschl. Hist. 94.

have been Augustinian can offend. Jerome was not the only one to voice these great commotions when reading in Augustine, for Augustine was the main spring of the entire medieval church, and scarcely or laden his thought would finding in the form in which Luther is here quoting it.

> "Just as usual, in the Catholic Church of his Philic days was artificial, and crookedly adapted to Scriptural-sense. Here what there monkish and to relat ability her know with the theory that upon upon God doubt, a every confusing lies to the fundamental feeling which relies exclusively on God's grace."[63]

How the beginning of this evaluative relations on death there has to mean in Luther, that seem in begins to throw all the our clear theology for reason, when, and manner when we turning to see his eye on the interior moral action in christ.

Luther's return to the point of view of Martin was not a movement in which he alone was concerned. On the contrary, the very advice from his counselors formed in Augustine is evidence of the sensual susceptibility of the great German nation. The fact of movements in the Augustinian order contrive which an especial interest in Luther. Strength also existing that there was at the end of the fifteenth century a general return to the fundamental

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63 - Ibidem., Vol. 4a.

position of Augustine on grace exclusive, and that this return went hand in hand with the general breakdown of the Nominalist School, which had been such a supporter of monk-righteousness, and in which Luther found himself struggling.[64] Thus Luther is seen again to be standing in the movement of his age and to be appropriating in excellent fashion the best tradition of thought to which he was heir. Also there is some ground for assuming the superior worth of Augustine over any other guide to Luther at this point in his development in the consideration that Luther was greatly troubled by the spectre of eternal damnation as bound up in the doctrine of predestination. It is the point of view against which Staupitz had warned him; but here in Augustine, he has the chance to study the master of the doctrine of predestination, who is at the same time the master of the doctrine of the free grace of God in Christ. So predestination loses its meanness, passes over into the larger doctrine of the dependability of the human will on that of God, becomes a really pious consideration, and has its solution offered in Christ simultaneously with its damnation in Adam. This is a point of importance, for here we can see that an outlet is established for the pent-up feelings of Luther on that

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64 - Ritschl. Hist. 117.

harassing subject of predestination, and that that outlet is unquestionably the historic work of Christ. Augustine was indeed a great rock in a weary land, and Luther temporarily took shelter.

#10. The Effect of Catholic Liturgy and Tradition

There is undoubtedly within the great Church tradition itself, an ineradicable testimony to the saving power of Jesus.

> ".... , the Church logically makes the attainment of eternal blessedness dependent, not upon our own achievements and merits, but upon the mercy of our Saviour. The earlier Luther knew this from many a Church prayer that might be ranged under this head: it entered the prayer he recited every day at mass, after the elevation; he heard it in the prayer, to mention but one, used at the blessing of the Psalm: 'O God, whom to love is justice, increase in us the gifts of thine inestimable grace, and do thou, who, through the death of thy son, hast made us hope for that which we believe, make us also through his resurrection attain thither whither we tend'; This was not a secret doctrine, but from olden times priests had the straightout direction to receive from the dying their acknowledgment that they attain to heavenly glory, not through their own merits, but in virtue of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and through his merits; that Jesus Christ died for our salvation, and no one can be saved by his own merits or in any other manner except through the merit of Jesus Christ. If the one dying has this faith, let him thank God with all his heart and commend himself to Christ's passion, often thinking on the same. Let him draw thence the firm hope that God is the 'most faithful promiser of everlasting goods and

> the most certain paymaster'. In her liturgical prayers and hymns in Luther's time, the Church thus shows the Lord God as the merciful gracious God, not as the stern Judge. Throughout the entire ecclesiastical year, she shows that the advent of Jesus Christ is really the advent of grace and mercy, that Jesus himself is the Joy of the world, the immeasurable Clemency, who redeemed us from death through his blood."[65]

This rather lengthy quotation deserves more notice from Protestantism than it has received.[66] True, indeed it is, that the voice of Catholic piety prior to Luther, is not silent upon the mighty place of Jesus, nor is Catholic liturgy devoid of references, almost numberless expressing in unmistakable terms the reliance of the Church and her people on Jesus. Now Lutheranism has often attempted to show the unconscious acceptance of her position by Catholicism in the witty remark that every Catholic becomes a Lutheran before he dies, referring of course to the Sacrament of Extreme Unction and the instructions to the dying quoted above. The truth of the matter is that this proves the opposite, if it proves anything. Luther could certainly have learned his famous conception of faith from isolated units of Catholic teaching. In these early days, it is the major popular conception that is confusing the issue, and when this is added to the personal struggle going on all the time within Luther's own conscience,

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65 - Denifle, i, 461-2.
66 - Ritschl. Hist. Chap. III, gives it its subject matter rightful place.

it is easily understood that Luther won for himself what had already been in Catholic teaching. At least it can be thus shown that this phase of Catholicism brought to Luther many an element which later came to have a heavy bearing in his own thought. At the door of the same Church that brought him misconceptions, must be laid the credit for bringing him the lines of thought that would lead to the clarification of these misconceptions. However the inner currents of thought may run through these years when Luther is subjected to this mighty procession of the Church Offices, for the real inner currents of his thought are quite unknown to us, it is safe to assume, and I think, a rather inevitable assumption, that the leaven of grace and mercy in the prayer and service of Catholicism was working its way through the mass of superstition and popular fear with which Luther started.

There is something to be said for the influence within the Order itself. Not everything would tend to promote the fear element and its attendant work-righteousness. Denifle has done his best service, it seems to me, at this point. He has pointed out that the great stream of Catholic piety connected with the name and grace of Jesus, had by no means died out, and he quotes at length from the parts of the monastic ritual, which would tend to show to Luther a Jesus who

would be both guide, comforter, and source of assurance. For the very prayer said over Luther's bowed head at the time of his entrance contains, not only the ever-present mention of carnal sins, but also the comforting, strengthening Christ.

> "Lord Jesus Christ, our leader and our strength, we humbly pray thee to separate thy servants... from carnal conversation and from the uncleanness of earthly actions by holiness infused in them from on high, and pour forth into them the grace by which they persevere in thee, etc."[67]

And yet again, when the vows were said, the Prior would say over Luther, kneeling before him,

> "Know, Lord Jesus Christ, thy servant among thy sheep, that he may know thee, and denying himself, may not follow a strange shepherd, nor hear the voice of strangers, but thine, who sayest 'who serveth me, let him follow me.'"[67]

Certainly, the condition of the mind of him who heard these prayers would entirely condition the prayers. To one, unafraid of the terror of sin, or not super-sensitive to it, the entire emphasis might well have fallen upon the gentler elements of Jesus' leadership and care. But also, to one trembling at the majesty and might of Jesus, such prayers would bring but increase of terror. Nevertheless, the prayers do present a fine and powerful food for the soul of a man like Luther, provided

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67 - Quoted from the Constitution of the Order, by Denifle, i, 69. The English is his, with the Latin given in a footnote.

would be with guile, comfort, and source of assurance. Not the very prayer said over Jesusita bored head by the time of his entrance contains, not only the over-present mention of earthly ills, but also the conditions, strengthening Christ.

"Lord Jesus Christ, you leader and our strength, we humbly pray thee to separate thy servants... from carnal conversation and from the wickedness of earthly actions by raising the thought in them from on high, and push forth into thy the space by which they persevere in thee, etc."

And yet again, when the cows have calf, the priest-monk say over Jesusita, kneeling before him.

"Come, Lord Jesus Christ, thy servant among thy sheep, that is dry upon the, and thirsty that diseasi, may not follow a strange shepherd, but from the voice of servant and, at tidings, the servant that knoweth me, let him follow me."[27]

Certainly, the condition of the mind of him who heard these prayers would entirely condition the prayers. To one, unfamiliar of the terror of sin, or not under-standing to it, the entire sequence might well have fallen upon the peculiar phrasebo of Jesus' leadership and care. For him, to one treasuring at the mediary and might of Jesus, such prayers would bring not increase of terror. Nevertheless, the prayers do present a fine and powerful food for the soul of a man like Guiber, provided

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27 - Copied from the Constitution of the Order, by Dom-inic. 1. 52. The English is his, with the text given in a footnote.

there be supplied the humane approach. This is what was lacking and this is exactly what was to come to him in the services of the Master of Novices, and from Staupitz. Likewise it should be pointed out that the very opening words of the Order which Luther entered, call for love of God and love of neighbor as the chief considerations, and this is what Staupitz, also, is to continually point out to him. Now it may well be granted that Luther was not over-ready for the performance of this injunction when he had entered with so much heartsearching and introspection. Some high credit must be given to the monastic regime for its production of Luther. It did not take many months for an effect to be seen in the young monk's life, and this effect, definitely for good, is not to be attributed to Luther's sole efforts, but to a strong and powerful and beautiful spirit, encased in the Order, and alive in the Master and Staupitz. Another example will produce the following prayer said when Luther donned the habit of the Order:

> "Lord Jesus, thou who art the way, without which one cannot come to the Father, lead this thy servant upon the way of regular discipline; know him as one of thy sheep, etc."[68]

Now it is not fair for Protestant scholars always to point out the word of discipline that is in the monastic

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68 - Denifle has collected with great care many of these phrases from the liturgy and offices. Pages 441 ff.

ideal and leave out the word whereby Christ becomes the way. In service after service of the appointed monastic round, Luther would hear the great historic affirmations of the reliance of the Church on the mercies of Christ, he would chant the great liturgical praises to Jesus as the hope and salvation of the world; but there is absolutely no assurance available for us that he made the absolutely necessary transfer of the historic piety to his own life, or felt the personal application of the salvation wrought by Jesus. The Church was the carrier of that tradition and that mercy, and he failed to establish the proper operations with the means which the Church offered him. We do not need to deny the position of Jesus in the prayers and psalms of the Church for the establishment of our thesis that Luther progressed in proportion as he came to an understanding of Jesus, but it does seem valid to deny that this Church position, granted it as high, was unadulterated and available. On the contrary, the position of any organization is available for normal purposes only in the personal interpretation and emphasis which it receives from its local representatives. Luther had to struggle through the interpretations to the essence, and his essence is not wholly out of harmony with most of the examples that Denifle cites. But not until he got into the thick of study and personal guidance, did

his thought begin to clarify, and then it outstripped its local time period in its return to the older Augustinian position. It is historically a fact and psychologically valid that when the great religious experiences have been encased in however beautiful a form and have become used in this form as the daily liturgy, they have invariably lost their power. That is partly because Luther and the others who have traveled this same path, are too often expectant that the repetition of the great phrases and the daily careful attention to the liturgical observances will in itself bring the reward of the heart. But each must for himself find this pearl of great price, and the halting logic of one's own heart is quite superior at times to the mighty eloquence of the Church. Nevertheless, I am quite convinced that these liturgical forms, and this monastic routine did bring into Luther's thought many of the ideas about Jesus, which lying dormant, or waking to realization only now and again, finally come to fruition in an adjusted theological structure and a transformed faith.

Some evidence that these were not unconsidered by Luther, is evidenced by the fact that they appear often in quotation as he lectures in Psalms and Romans.[68] Again he is found with such an expression as "nor do I

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68 - Examples given by Denifle i, 463 f. 1482 and 1483.

believe the words of the Church to be vain",[69] which at least intimates that he was giving them full consideration.

It is seen that at the same time, or rather, through the same period of time, in which he is studying the great teachers of Catholicism for the more refined definitions of dogma, he is also finding himself deep in her richest liturgy. Under such a double attack, elevating thought and emotion at once, the earlier and cruder conceptions of his childhood and youth would rapidly vanish.

#11. The Influence of John von Staupitz

It is my conviction that the personal life of Luther came into its own first freedom through the careful guidance given him by Staupitz.[70] This is not to deny the fine influence of the Master of Novices, spoken of elsewhere in this thesis, nor to eliminate the other influences suggested, but only to say that Staupitz became for Luther the first master craftsman to lay a wise hand on his shoulder and give him the aid he needed.

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70 - "John von Staupitz matriculated at Leipsig in 1485; in 1497 he is found as reader in theology and M.A. at Tübingen. In 1503, he was elected Vicar of the German province of the Augustinian Hermits, and in the same year was called by Frederic the Wise to be dean of the theological faculty of the new University of Wittenberg, where he took his doctorate of divinity in 1510. Luther's relations to him were very close and it is to him that the young monk owed his two calls to Wittenberg." He died in 1524. Smith, Cor. 25, fn. 1.

believe the words of the church to be vain",[69] which at least indicates that he was giving them full consideration.

It is conceivable that one's life, or rather, through the case-study of life, it would be in studying the great concepts of definition for the more material definitions of course, he is also filling himself deep in the higher things. Under such a double attack, wavering thought and emotion at once, the earlier pre-conceived conceptions of his childhood and youth would rapidly vanish.

XII. The Influence of John Von Shoeffle

It is my conclusion that the personal life of Luther came into its own first through the cause-and guidance given him by Staupitz.[70] Yet, he not to deny the free influence of the Master of Devices, Satan or elsewhere in this thesis, nor to slighten the other influences mentioned, but only to say that Staupitz be-came the Father the first author credited to Luther's also lent on his shoulder and give him the aid he needed.

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70. - John von Staupitz was ordained at Salzburg in 1497. In 1497 he is found as teacher in theology and M.A. at Tubingen. In 1503, he was elected Vicar of the German provinces of the Augustinian Hermits, and in the same year was called to Tubingen the Vice to be dean of the theological faculty of the new Lutheran-ism of Wittenberg. Where he took his doctorate of theology in 1506. Luther's relations to his were very close and it is to him that "the young monk owed his two guides to Wittenberg." He died in 1524. Luther, Cor. Re. Ca. I.

Staupitz was Luther's superior and spoke to him with something of the voice of authority. He advises less rigor and vigour in self-discipline, and more in active service, less doubt and more normal faith. The long intercourse between the two is one of the most delightful and the most tragic of the Reformation friendships. In early acquaintance, the young and much troubled monk is given harbor and help by the older kindly man; in the beginning of the new vision for the monk, the superior is the guiding hand, even suggesting the very central thought of the new point of view; then when the days of battle come, the older man will not follow, neither can he longer be active in the old faith, so in retirement he watches, none can tell with what interest, the progress of his beloved student.

In surveying the touch of Staupitz upon the life of Luther, let us see first, Staupitz' theology, second, the contact with Luther, and third, what Luther says he owes to him. First, then, we find that in defining the theological position of Staupitz, there is just a little difficulty. Ritschl will hold against Ullmann that there was little of the mystic about him, and that he belonged to the school of practical theologians who were moving in the Augustinian tradition.[71]

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71 - Ritschl, Hist. 110-111.

Accordingly there is in the theology of Staupitz that same "counterpoise for work-righteousness that Augustine and Bernard had, namely, grace and love." "So that we feel the greater confidence in God just as we lose confidence in ourselves, and no longer trusting to our own powers, look to the cross of Christ alone." This is, of course, the position which he offered to Luther, as we shall see later. On the other hand, both Schaff[72] and Ullmann[73] present Staupitz as of the school of German mystics, best represented by Tauler and a Kempis. This is not a matter of large difference in the Luther story, for Luther may well have been ignorant of the finer distinctions that Ritschl sees fit to urge here against the mystical. However, the mysticism of Staupitz were certainly a disciplined and controlled state of mind. He made love, love of God for us and us for God, the central plane of his thinking. Then with fine insight, he set it forth that while our love for God might vary and have its strenuous times, the love of God for us was steadfast and immovable. As with the greater tradition, Staupitz holds the point at which we may see the love of God for us and be assured of it, is in the revelation in Christ.

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72 - Schaff, Hist. vi, 118 f.
73 - Ullmann, Ref. ii, 256-284.

> "... The chief thing is to have Christ in our hearts. The knowledge of the Christian faith and the love to God are gifts of pure grace beyond our art and ability and beyond our works and merit."[74]

The titles of the works which he produced, and which had a large reading in his day, are significant of the central line of his thought; "Nachfolge Christi", suggests the "Imitation of Christ" of Thomas a Kempis; "Von der Liebe Gottes" was the book of Staupitz of which Luther thought so highly; and his last work "Von den heiligen rechten Christlichen Glauben" dealt with the great question raised by Luther.[75] These are all of such nature as to involve as the very center of their thought, the person and work of Christ. Far removed from the field of thought inhabited by the scholastics, and the teachers under whom Luther first came, Staupitz here dwells in the realm of practical piety, places the whole burden of assurance upon the simpler, quieter Christian living. Little of the cognitive is involved, but much of the emotional and volitional. He stands either in the direct line of thought which had such supporters as Bernard and Augustine (so Ritschl holds), or in that line which held Tauler and Kempis (so Schaff and Ullmann), and in either case, he would be speaking to Luther the word that Luther needed; a word wholly

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74 - From Schaff, vi, 119.
75 - Published in Potsdam, 1867, as Johannis Staupitii Opera.

centered upon Christ, and approaching Christ with confidence based on the theory of exclusive grace, and ruling out confidence in merits.

Second, what actual contact had Staupitz with Luther, and was there opportunity for him to convey this fine consideration of the place of Jesus in his thought to Luther? The chronology of the Staupitz-Luther connection is a bit uncertain, but the fact of the connection is no way uncertain. The chronology is varied by reason of the fact that we cannot know with definiteness how early after Luther's arrival at the Convent, his Vicar took notice of him. In all probability, it is safer to assume that the interest of Staupitz was not on Luther immediately, that is, 1505, but that it began to manifest itself after Luther had made his impression throughout the monastery. There are no absolute facts that can settle the matter to the month and year, so one must build up probabilities, and that is an open and free field. Suffice it for our purpose to assume his friendship with Luther to date from somewhere around 1506-07. In the chronology of experience, he can be properly dated, as coming into the Luther range of thought at the point where Luther was needing the more humane and the more spiritual consideration as opposed to the academic and organizational. Schaff places his friendship as beginning earlier than 1507.[76]

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76 - Schaff, Hist. vi, 120.

MacKinnon would place its beginning a little later, 1508-09.[77] Fife tends to the view of MacKinnon.[78] But little or no difference is apparent, for certainly no authority places the connection with Staupitz after the appearance of virility and contentment in Luther's own position,[79] so that the influence of Staupitz is a recognized influence in the days when influence was able to mould the mind of Luther. The date later than which this important connection cannot be placed, is the date of his removal from Erfurt to Wittenberg, for Staupitz was not only Vicar of the Province in which Erfurt stood, but was also dean of the school at Wittenberg in which Luther was coming to teach, and this date is the fall of 1508. In the chronology of experience, Staupitz occupies a crucial point. He was Luther's guide during the darkest hours of his intellectual and spiritual struggle, and was such a guide as was able to show Luther the path that led to the promised land, though this is not necessarily to say that their thought always followed the same path, nor even that Luther's followed docilely that of Staupitz in his first acceptance of the leadership of Staupitz. Let us then, third, see Luther's testimony on the line of thought in which he felt himself indebted to Staupitz.

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77 - MacKinnon, i, 96.
78 - Fife, 108.
79 - Müller says 1512. Müller is practically alone, however. Also - Oergel, 1506-08.

There are available for our sources here many letters written by Luther and Staupitz. Most all of these portray in a truly remarkable fashion that the influence of Staupitz was largely centered around a new appreciation of Jesus, which he was able to give to Luther. To Staupitz in September, 1523, Luther sadly writes,

> "Reverend Father in Christ, your silence is most unjust, and you know what we are obliged to think of it. But even if you are no longer pleased with me, it is not fitting that I should forget you, who first made the light of the gospel shine in my heart."

And in April, 1524, Luther receives an answer -

> "My love to you is most constant, passing the love of women, always unbroken ... But as I do not grasp all of your ideas, I keep silence about them ... But we owe much to you, Martin, for having led us back from the husks which the swine did eat, to the pastures of life and the words of salvation."[80]

This is the last exchange of letters between the two men, and it admirably depicts the strange pathway of their lives. It shows that the great aid of Staupitz was the aid that came in the formation of Luther's thought, not in the confirmation of it. Again in 1521 a letter from Luther to Staupitz shows the essential point at which Luther is debtor to him,

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80 - These letters are translated in Smith, Life, 182-3. Smith has done great work for the English public in his careful attention to the letters of Luther's epoch.

> ".... I write this more confidently because I fear you will take a middle course between Christ and the Pope, who are now, you see, in bitter controversy..... Truly your submission has saddened me not a little, and has shown me that you are different from that Staupitz who was the herald of grace and of the cross ...."[81]

The entire letter of Luther to Staupitz, quoted on page above, is in point here, since it directly implies that Staupitz was the source of the teaching of grace that began to bring him comfort. That the love of God was central in Staupitz' teaching, is here certified, and also the equally important element, that that love is available only in Jesus.

On the matter of the temptations in the early monastic days, Luther records that sometimes when he told of his spiritual issues, Staupitz, while affirming that he himself knew not such temptation, yet told Luther that he should accept them as food and drink to his Christian experience.[82] The same advice is discernible in the scene at the dining table of the monastery, when Staupitz is shown in a very good light, trying to counsel Luther that his "temptations" shall be turned to disciplinary advantage.

The letters that date in 1518-19, all show conclusively that both Luther and Staupitz recognized

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81 - Smith, Life, 109.
82 - WA. TR. ii, 13.

their close connection, and the mutual interest in and responsibility for the doctrine which Luther was so boldly proclaiming. From Wittenberg, in March, 1518, Luther writes to Staupitz,

> ".... Truly I have followed the theology of Tauler and of that book (meaning Staupitz' own, Von der Liebe Gottes) which you recently gave to Christian Döring to print; I teach that men should trust in nothing save in Jesus Christ only,not in their own prayers, or merits, or works, for we are not saved by our own exertions, but by the mercy of God...."[83]

And Staupitz writes to Luther in September, 1518,

> "Possess your soul in patience for salvation. I have enough to write to fill a book, but will express myself briefly. It seems to me that the world is exasperated against Truth; with so great a hatred was Christ once crucified, and today I see nothing waiting for you but the Cross. Unless I mistake, the opinion prevails that no one should examine Scripture without leave of the Pope in order to find for himself, which Christ certainly commands us to do. You have few defenders, and would that they were not hiding for fear of enemies. I should like you to leave Wittenberg and come to me, that we may live and die together. This would also please the archbishop. Here I finish. It is expedient thus to be, that abandoned, we may follow abandoned Christ. Farewell, and a good journey to you."[84]

Then again, a rather strong one from Luther to Staupitz in October, 1519, after Leipsig,

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83 - Smith, Cor. #54. Enders i, 175.
84 - Smith, Cor. #80. Enders i, 234.

> ".... Now about myself. What will you? You are leaving me. I have been sad for you today as a weaned child for his mother. I pray you praise the Lord even in a sinner like me. I hate my wretched life; I fear death; I am empty of faith and full of qualities which, Christ knows, I should much prefer to do without, were it not to serve him thereby.... Last night I had a dream about you; I dreamed that you were leaving me while I wept bitterly, but you waved to me and told me to cease weeping, for you would come back to me, which indeed, has happened this very day. But now, farewell, and pray for me in my wretchedness."[85]

And yet again note the strong alliance he claims with Staupitz, in a letter of February, 1520,

> "... I have hitherto taught and held all the opinions of John Hus unawares; so did John Staupitz; in short we are all Hussites without knowing it. Paul and Augustine were Hussites to a word...."[86]

And so, from the letters that passed between the two men, it is evident that there was a very close relationship as regards not only affection, but also teaching. Luther openly affirms the guiding hand of Staupitz. There are also some considerations of weight from observations of Luther in the Tischreden. These which I am about to introduce are the source of most of the comments that are made on the influence of Staupitz on Luther by Harnack,[87] by Kostlin,[88] by Mac-

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85 - Smith, Cor. #178. Enders, ii, 182.
86 - Smith, Life. 72.
87 - Harnack ML, 19, where he quotes Staupitz as saying, "Schaue nicht auf dich, schaue auf Christum den Gekreuzigten und fasse Mut zu Gott."
88 - Köstlin, Theol. i, 65.

Kinnon,[89] by Fife,[90] by Schaff,[91] by Scheel,[92] and by many another, all of whom in varying degree, of course, attribute a heavy influence at this point. The point at issue in the whole earlier struggle of Luther is brought clearly into relief by the following:

> "Sic mihi saepe consuliut Staup(itius): si, inquins, vis disputare de praedestinatione, incipe a vulneribus Christi, tunc cessabit simul omnis disputatio de praedestinatione."[93]

If we can grant the slightest reliability to this remark of Luther, and there is absolutely no justification for classing such a reminiscence among those incited by passion, prejudice, hatred, etc., it then follows that we have here the question of what was the key to the advice of the older man. This has some confirmation also, in that it agrees fully with the underlying implication of all the letters, namely, that at the point of centering Luther's thinking around Christ, Staupitz exerted his chief influence. It also coincides with what was the major depression of the early years, namely, the sense of the unfavorable judgment of God which Luther thought must inevitably fall upon him. As Augustine had shown him new light on the problem of predestination, so now Staupitz produces for him the spiritual psychology

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89 - MacKinnon, i, 127.
90 - Fife, 139. (Though the reference he gives to WA.TR. are inaccurate.) See below.
91 - Schaff, vi, 119.
92 - Scheel, ii.
93 - WA. TR. i, 512, lines 18-20.

whereby he can experience the assurance that is rightfully his. It is of importance also to note that Staupitz gives increasing impetus to the anti-scholastic trend of Luther's life, when he tells him to leave off the disputings and accept what is historically given him. It does not seem to me that the quotation above needs to be stretched any to have it yield the position just stated, and I would not pass over the influence of Staupitz without this suggestion that he was one of the leaders, perhaps unconscious, in the movement that led to the neglect of scholasticism, at least of nominalistic scholasticism. Fife says that Luther "affirms that Staupitz 'began the gospel doctrine' which demands that we look upon the man Christ Jesus,"[94] but the reference printed in the footnote does not support the quotation. Nevertheless the statement of Fife is certainly accurate, and it seems to me that the observations already made are sufficient to confirm the statement that it was Staupitz who first taught Luther to "look upon all the problems of theology through the humanity of Christ."[95] Perhaps the following from Luther is conclusive evidence at this all-important testimony;

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94 - Fife, 139.
95 - Melanchthon, Loci Communes, edited by Kolde. Sec. 61. Amn.1.

> "Sed Staupicius meus dicebat: Man mus den man ansehen, der da heyst Christus. Staupicius hat die doctrinam angefangen."[96]

Staupitz told him to look on the man, Christ Jesus.

Finally, there is no stronger affirmation in the entire sources for the question than Luther's statement involving his relative reliance on Erasmus and Staupitz. "Ex Erasmo nihil habeo. Ich hab all mein ding von D(octor) Staupitz; der hatt mir occasionem geben."[97] This is all the more interesting and applicable at this point, since Luther did owe Erasmus something from the point of view of linguistic help (such for example as the new light that comes from the text of Scriptures, of which he speaks in the letter to Staupitz quoted on page above), and also from the point of view of humanistic sympathies in the beginning of his public work. But Luther has in mind here the essential position which he now occupies in thought and tradition, in neither of which was he debtor to Erasmus, but to Staupitz. It is not without cause then that at this point in our Dissertation, it is suggested that the central point of the theology and influence of Staupitz, which made

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96 - WA. TR. i, 245, lines 11-12. And note 20 to the same reads from the other manuscripts: "Hac die coepit doctrinam St(aupicius)." This evidently is the reference Fife meant to give.

97 - WA. TR. i, 80, lines 6-7.

its great contribution to Luther, was a reorganization of his entire theological considerations, deserting the methodology of the schoolmen for that of the Augustinian-mystical-Scriptural tradition, which began and ended its thinking with the historic Jesus.

CHAPTER III.

HIS EARLY TEACHING

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#12. Philosophy, at Wittenberg

In a letter to John Braun of Eisenach, Luther tells of his transfer from the student life of the Erfurt monastery to the teaching life of the Wittenberg monastery:

> "Brother Martin Luther sends you greeting and wishes you salvation and the Saviour himself, Jesus Christ....
> Wonder not that I departed without saying farewell, for my departure was so sudden that it was almost unknown to my fellow monks. I wished to write you, but had time and leisure for nothing except to regret that I had to break away without saying goodbye.
> Now I am at Wittenberg, by God's command or permission. If you wish to know my condition, I am well, thank God, except that my studies are very severe, especially philosophy, which from the first I would willingly have changed for theology; I mean that theology which searches out the meat of the nut, and the kernel of the grain, and the marrow of the bones. But God is God; man often, if not always, is at fault in his judgment. He is our God, he will sweetly govern us forever...."[98]

Luther wrote this in March, 1509, and it tells his old friend from Eisenach that he had been transferred very suddenly from Erfurt to Wittenberg. This transfer took place in the fall of 1508, and was cer-

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98 - Smith, Cor. #2, Trans. Enders, i, 4.

tainly under the orders or influence of Staupitz, who was not only lecturer in Bible at Wittenberg and dean of the theological faculty of Wittenberg, but also the district vicar of the Augustinians. It is not possible to conceive of the transfer as detached from the influence of Staupitz, and it is important to bear in mind that Staupitz was involved in this, for the Staupitz influence is heavily on the side of the contentment that is coming into Luther's life. It is evident from this letter that Luther has already set his heart on the study of Scripture. Not philosophy, of which he had had quite a good deal at Erfurt, but theology, and in particular Scriptural theology, was the desire of his teaching life.

The actual teaching work done by Luther in this his first year at Wittenberg, was in Aristotle's Ethics.[99] There is no reason for an extended study of his attitude during these lectures at this point in our Dissertation. The text which he used is not available for us. The lecture notes are not known and we are at a loss for any opportunity to make any real advance in our Luther reconstruction at this point. He was, however, hard at work throughout this year in Wittenberg, both in his teaching and in his own study. He was attending lec-

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99 - For the dispute as to whether this was in the Ethics of Aristotle or the Physics, see Mack. i, 125. Oergel, 110. Grisar, i, 21.

tures for his own degree of Baccalaureus Biblicus, which was granted to him in the spring of 1509 and which permitted him to lecture on Scripture. It is probable also that he lectured on Aristotle's Dialectics. Throughout life, in spite of his many strictures on Aristotle, he held the methodology of Aristotle in Philosophy proper, in high esteem, denying it only in the field of Biblical studies and of Theology. This year of Aristotelian teaching may have contributed a great deal to certain lines of his development, but the consideration before us relative to the growth of his Christology, is not necessarily involved. What influence is available is only an intensification of the points of view already finding expression in his thought - namely, the essential indifference or irrelevancy of Aristotelian thought and the mystical Christology which was attracting him, and the absence of the ability of speculation to satisfy the tumult of the heart. Aristotelian Ethics are not by any means in strict harmony with monastic ethics. The doctrine of the golden mean[100] might well serve to modify the strictness and rigidity of the thought of sin which Luther held. But that is a problem deserving great consideration, which, however, is greatly hampered by the total absence of Luther's own

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100 - Water - Perry, 99.

lectures on the Ethics and Dialectics. We do not hesitate therefore to suggest the relative unimportance of this year in his developing thought.[101] What in all probability did happen of interest to us, is that the year gave added companionship with Staupitz, increased his dissatisfaction for philosophy proper, and increased his affection for the Scripture.

His personal life evidently continued exemplary, for his Order and his Superiors begin increasingly to honor him from this year forward.

#13. The Sentences of Peter Lombard, at Erfurt

Luther's return to Erfurt in the summer of 1509[102] brings with it the opportunity or necessity of lecturing on the great textbook of Theology, the Sentences of Peter Lombard.[103] A given period of lecturing on the Sentences, was required of all candidates for the doctorate, and Luther fulfills this function for practically eighteen months during 1509-10.

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101 - The decisive Wittenberg years were the years 1512-1515, not this 1508-09.

102 - Cause of his return is not definitely known. Either for reasons involving his original relationship to the Erfurt monastery, or reasons involving the growing quarrel within the Order, in the interests of which he went to Rome in 1510-11.

103 - Peter Lombard (? - 1160). Bishop of Paris. Famous as teacher of Theology in the Cathedral School of Notre Dame. His "Four Books of Sentences"gathered citations from creeds and Fathers on the cardinal doctrines. The materials are presented and discussed for the entire theological system. Compare Walker, 266-7.

Happily the marginal notes he made in his text of the Sentences, are available for us.[104] There is not a sharp and decided evidence of originality, but there are source lines pointing to the intensity of the study and the searching quality of the lecturer's mind. Luther is not by any means entirely unfriendly to Lombard, on the contrary, he even, years later, rates him very highly as a Theologian.[105] A great man, he calls him, who would have been the greatest, if he had read more in the Bible and incorporated it in his writings.[106] Almost every page of his notes bears witness to his already vast reading. Occam, d'Ailly, Biel, Bernard, Augustine, Scotus, Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, Hilary, are all referred to. And his beloved Scripture is often quoted. The influence of his Occamistic teaching is evident in his continued emphasis on faith against reason, tradition against speculation, theology against philosophy.[107] He takes issue with Lombard on the problem of sin.[108]

But our chief interest lies in the movement of his own Christological thought. It is not easily seen in these notes. The most that can be said, is that he

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104 - WA. IX, 28-94.
105 - WA. TR. i, 58, lines 15-26.
106 - WA. TR. ii, 515-16.
107 - His reaction against Aristotle is growing. Compare WA. TR. IX, 23, lines 6-7; 43, line 5; 47, line 6.
108 - WA. IX, 75.

is moving from the poles of thought of Scholasticism and Lombard, to those of Augustine. A keen consciousness of the fact and power of sin is evidenced.[109] And there is some movement around the person of Jesus, as, for example, when commenting on Lombard's remarks to the Augustinian conception of the "Justitia Dei", Luther writes that "Christ is our faith, our justice, our grace, and our sanctification."[110] Again there are notes on the "misericordias Domini" and the "Justiciae Domini" in which Luther suggests the connections with the 88th and 18th Psalms respectively.[111] And Luther expressly asserts that Christ and not "Sapienta" was the first Creation.[112] Yet again he pointed out that Christ begins to rid him of Adam.[113] Christ is the center of his reflection on sin.[114] Christ is "the son of God"[115] and "Our Redeemer"[116]. Faith is clearly in a state of formation in Luther's mind, when he speaks of acquired faith (fides acquisita)[117] and there are some grounds for seeing in his use of this term "acquired", a prognostication of his doctrine of justification by faith in Christ.[118]

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109 - WA. IX, 74-76.
110 - WA. IX, 42. Compare Denifle, 438.
111 - WA. IX, 60.
112 - WA. IX, 74.
113 - WA. IX, 74.
114 - WA. IX, 86-88.
115 - WA. IX, 91.
116 - WA. IX, 93.
117 - Fife, 165, note 29, citing WA. IX, 17,39,43.
118 - See Fife, 165, note 29.

Fife concludes a very good study of the notes on Lombard by the following summary:

> "The framework of the marginal notes on Lombard is then the ancient and traditional structure, but there is growing within the frame a spirit of trust in the grace of God and of reliance on the Holy Scriptures which shows that the soul struggles of the young monk have not been in vain."[119]

Harnack and Denifle agree (mirabile dictu) that as early as the lectures on Lombard, Luther shows signs of his doctrine of the bestowal of grace without merit.[120] This is only an agreement on the fact that these lectures set forth in its beginning the great doctrine that later is the base of Lutheran thought. It is not clear by any means that Luther won a new position during or before these lectures, but it is clear that some of the elements necessary to a new position are finding expression. Sin and grace are evidently the centers of thought; and Christ is receiving some of the adjectives and descriptive phrases which place him in the exact position of being the way by which sin is overcome, forgiven, and grace is received. There is strength and independence of thought in these Luther notes; they do not show much influence of a gentle non-resisting piety, which one might suppose if Staupitz had been over-influential, but the

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119 - Fife, 148.
120 - Denifle, 390, and Harnack, DG. vii, 182, note 1.

truth is that these lectures were being delivered contemporaneously with the reception of the influence of Staupitz, and before the more mystical aspect of Staupitz had been re-enforced by the "German Theology."

CHAPTER IV.

BIBLICAL LECTURER. CONCLUSION OF HIS CHRISTOLOGICAL THOUGHT

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#14. The So-Called "Illumination", or the Effect of his Understanding Romans i, 17.

It appears quite evident that the youthful fear complex of the Luther who entered the monastery, has been transformed in the passing of the years into a real and deep religious feeling. Sin has been his major problem for years, righteousness or worth has been his major objective for years. God has long since ceased to be the object of terror in the gross sense of earlier years, but he has remained the majestic and just Judge. At times the Judge aspect has faded from mind and heart under the impulse of the mightier thoughts of Bernard and Augustine, and the gentler Staupitz, but always the rather practical mind of Luther has returned to the problem of sin and righteousness, a problem of devastating reality. The great temptations, so-called, of Luther's years, were the temptations of thought, of a mind that was relentless in its insistence that the theory of life upon which he must live, be consistent with the practice of life which he knew so well. Therefore his thinking increasingly centers, as the foregoing sections of this Dissertation indicate, around the terms

CHAPTER IV.

GERMAN SCHOLARS. CONTRIBUTIONS OF HIS CHRISTOLOGICAL SYSTEM

1. Not Co-equal "Kin-image of God", or the Effect of Christ's Redeeming Work, p. 117.

It appears quite evident that the youthful zeal of the latter who adorned the academy, has been tempered in the passing of the years into a cool and deep religious feeling. Kin has seen his major problem for years, stumbling-blocks of world has been his major objective for years. God has done what seemed to be the obvious of course in the great cause of earlier years, but he has remained the realistic and just Judge. At times the Judge aspect has faded from view and Christ under the leadership of the mighty thoughts of Barnard and Augustine, and the Greater Cloupitz, but always the rather practical mind of Luther has returned to the problem of sin and alienousness, a problem of devastating reality. The great temptations, so-called, of Luther's years, were the temptations of thought, of a mind that was malevolent in its tendencies that the theory of life upon which he must live, be consistent with the mysteries of life which he knew so well. Therefore his thinking lacksingly centers, on the foregoing sections of this dissertation in toto, around the terms

"justice", "righteousness", "grace", "justified", etc. His personal experience keeps the problem one of deep intensity and unusual vitality; his teaching profession keeps the problem one of severe intellectual quality and academic accuracy; his preaching burdens, which he assumed in Wittenberg soon after his second arrival there, add to the problem a wider field of experience and keep it practical.

He enters the second epoch of his teaching at Wittenberg with the climax definitely in sight. He is now to enjoy upon the highest opportunity of which he can think, and yet there is such a sense of uncertainty within his own soul, that he tries again and again to dissuade Staupitz, when the latter insists that he begin his lectures on the Bible. Long after the event, Luther says that he can well remember the very place where they stood and talked over the problem of his teaching, how he had urged against Staupitz that he was a sick man and could not do the work, and how Staupitz had answered in a gentle, humourous fashion all of his fifteen objections and had so put the case that there was no refusal. Surely these responsibilities would bring clarity to his mind -- or total darkness. He was not the temperament to teach what he did not feel, nor be silent about what he did feel. Sometime in the years between 1512 and 1515, there came to him a conscious-

ness of certainty of such power that he was able dramatically to look upon the hour as the hour when the gates of paradise opened for him.[121] This is the moment of recognition of the meaning of the text of Romans i, 17. The difference of opinion as to the exact dating of this experience does not concern us directly, for this Dissertation shows that a gradual growth is clearly apparent, and that any arbitrary dating of a momentary vision would be but violence to the historic actuality. Nevertheless, Luther does pointedly say in the reference given above, that in the tower of the Cloister at Wittenberg, which was his home, he had reached his famous conclusion on the exegesis of the text in question. The dates suggested by the authoritative biographers, are noted in the outline of Luther's life, attached to this Dissertation.

An analysis of the experience is, however, called for at this point in our progress. It is not only a problem in experience, it is also a problem in Biblical exegesis. It is one of the main lines of thought here developed, that Lutheran thought and Lutheran life were inseparably connected. The Biblical exegesis that comes to fruition in this understanding is as follows. Luther had been struggling for years with the

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121 - WA. TR. ii, 177. This is the famous passage on the experience.

problems involved in the idea of God's justice and our righteousness. The early terror is at that point. The questions to Staupitz are to this point. The confession that wearied the Erfurt Confessor are to this point. The most interesting and more virile section of the notes on Lombard, are those that discuss this aspect of the religious life. The Augustinian observations are vital at this same juncture. Luther's entire Biblical study is swinging around this problem. There is no avenue of the Lutheran tradition of these years, that does not indicate that sooner or later the mind of Luther must conquer the idea of God's justice as dependent upon our worth. It must conquer this conception or disintegrate. Now, freed from Aristotelian authority, freed from the traditions of the Church Fathers,[122] freed, too, from the morbid introspection of the days of his novitiate, he takes up the study of the Bible in full and complete sincerity. He is to teach it, he must master it. Pondering over the various ideas that had come into his view in the long years of studying, shifting this point of view with that, subjecting the great text to every angle of consideration, there dawns in his mind with the full force and the mighty enthusiasm of new found truth, an inter-

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122 - For example, his outright affirmation in the notes of Lombard, that not even a teacher of the Church can correct the Scripture.

pretation of the text which fits the necessities of scholarships, which clears up every doubtful point, and which has in its own right clear, consistent logic. More than all else, the immediate reaction of his heart's longing after restfulness, is to find deep satisfaction. This is the final test - what brings rest to his soul carries the conviction of the Holy Spirit. Actually it is the old test of experience and many a great Catholic before Luther had hummed the same tune of gladness in his heart when this self-same revelation broke with the light of heaven on his mind. "The just shall live by faith," becomes for Luther from this hour onward, the great source of his comfort and strength, for now the just, among whom he has always desired to be counted, are so defined that he can become one of them. If the definition of the Just were to hinge upon their justification in the sight of God because of their deserving this verdict, then Luther was a doomed man, for the Pauline-Augustinian sense of sin was too much of a reality with him. But if the definition of the Just is to hinge upon an act of God by which he freely justifies them of his own mercy and grace, then Martin Luther, even he, may find rest for his soul and be counted just by his faith.

Now let me speak directly to the point of the Dissertation. This recognition of the meaning and value of the act of justification and its character,

had as its strongest ingredient, a conception of Christ which was of such a nature that Luther was able to grasp the character of God in such a fashion that the justification by grace through faith was a possible conception. More than that, Christology had rapidly become the central aspect of Theology for Luther. That God was merciful, was most evident in Christ. That God could forgive and would forgive, was most possible in Christ. That God had made ample provision for the care of his people was guaranteed by his activity in Christ. The mercy and the grace of God which lie at the base of this doctrine were visible in Christ. Luther moved out of speculation into history, when he held every thought of God rigidly to the thought of Christ. Luther had in the historic Christ, a point, a place, an experience, which could not be swayed or moved by doubt or temptation. All the darkness of doubt vanished away when he approached the thought of God through the historic revelation in Jesus, as he had been told to look in younger days by Staupitz. Christ, and a changing conception of Christ, is the key that unlocks the secret portal to Luther's heart. And when we walk into the great experience there through this door, we find all in order and all gradually taking its correct place and perspective.

That this was the produce of a moment, I do not affirm. That Luther may have realized his new interpretation of the text in a moment, I can affirm. That is possible. But that he either came upon it without preparation, or that he realized its full beauties all at once, I do not affirm. Rather, let us turn to the great lectures in Psalms and Romans, which either directly follow this experience, or are contemporaneous with it, and see if there he presents a Christology of the character just suggested.

#15. Biblical Lecturer

On October 18, 1512, Luther received the degree which opened the field of Biblical and theological teaching to him. Early in the following year, he began his first series of lectures on the Psalms, which continued until March, 1515. On Romans, he lectured his first course from the spring of 1515 until the summer of 1516. These were followed by lectures on Titus, on Hebrews, on Galatians, a second series on Psalms, Genesis, etc. But around the first two, namely, Psalms and Romans, his thought comes to its full expression in the matters pertaining to Christology.

His work in this field was marked in general by a strength and virility that rapidly made him well-known, if not famous. In so far as he was able, he

That this was the produce of a moment, I do not affirm. That Lucian may have realized his new interpretation of the text in a moment, I can affirm. That is possible. But that he either came upon it without preparation, or that he realized its full meaning all at once, I do not affirm. But we, too, are born to the great inheritance in Paulus and Poemen, which either directly follow this experience, or are contemporaneous with it, and see it there as Prometheus's Chaistology of the character just suggested.

Biblical Development

In October-in, 1913, Lucian received the dream which opened the field of Biblical and theological reading to him. Early in the following year, he began his first series of lectures on the Psalms, which continued until about, 1923. On Romans, he lectured his first course from the spring of 1919 until the summer of 1922. These were followed by lectures on Ethics, on Galatians, a second series on Psalms, Genesis, etc. But around the first two, namely, Psalms and Romans, his thought rose in its full magnificence in the matters pertaining to Christology.

His work in this field was crowned in general by a clearer and vivid, than ever, realization of his mission, if not freedom. In one of his last talks, he

took advantage of the great contribution of humanism. He knew Greek a little in his early days, and studied it faithfully in the later days under Melanchthon. Hebrew he never mastered in any full sense, but he was continually noting the meaning and emphasis of the Hebrew text as best he could, keeping a Hebrew grammar constantly by his side, and endeavoring to wring even from his half knowledge of it, some new light for interpretation. The newer Latin texts of the Bible, he joyously welcomed.[123] His notes give ample evidence of his keenly alert mind and method at this point. At another emphasis of the new movement, he was also active, namely, the use of the vernacular. Luther was not bound by the use of the formal grammar of the medieval Church, but increasingly swings into his mother tongue. There is a certain accuracy, sharpness, power that comes to him when he calls the native German tongue to his aid in enlightening himself and his students. "We students heard him gladly, for he spoke in our mother tongue", writes one of his hearers. His lectures also follow the line of attack so well developed in later years, in which he unsparingly and fearlessly denounces the abuses in thought and practice of all those who depart from his accepted canons. This is not to say that

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123 - Compare the letter quoted above, page ; and also Ficker, i, XLVII, lists the editions of the Latin Bible between 1509-1516; 10 total Bible, 7 editions of Pauline letters; 2 editions New Testament letters.

Luther was over acrimonious, but it is to say that his lectures did not lack sharpness and directness. Specifically speaking, this sharpness and directness, this critical spirit is a legacy from Occam, and Luther is not one to use the famous "razor" lightly. Generally speaking, however, this critical point of view is inherent in the stage of progress in which Luther stands; his age is awakening to the critical mood, and he is its child. It might also be admitted that the critical spirit was native to Luther's temperament, was causal in his failure to find peace within the established tradition. Finally his lectures in the Bible are to be marked with a rigorous refusal to place any authority higher than the Word of Scripture. His great task will be honorable and defensible from the intellectual approach, and which will bring peace to his soul. The intellectual element will be critical; the appreciative element will be strong; the criterion will be harmony with experience. In line with this, the name and thought of Augustine will often be found in the notes that support Luther's own interpretation.

Here in the lectures that bring a degree of finality to his Biblical thought, is to be sought the real line of his development. These early Scripture lectures entrance his students, furnish food for his sermons to his flock, revolutionize the theology of

Wittenberg and thence of the world, and undergird the soul of Luther with a sense of assurance and confidence that he had long sought. These are the mirror of his most earnest thought.

#16. The Lectures on Psalms

The distinguishing features of Luther's Dictata super Psalterium[124] are not difficult to ascertain. He follows the tradition which develops either a threefold or a fourfold exegesis, that is the famous literal, allegorical, analogical, tropological interpretations.[125] Among these, he favored, according to Köstlin,[126] the tropological. On this, I am not prepared for definite judgment, though it may well be true, since it gave wide range of adjustment of material to suit the need of the lecturer, and certainly it can be said at least that Luther was ever mindful of the practical aspect of his interpretation. But certain it is that he followed many a great leader before him[127] when he used every device of exegesis and of skill to read Christ into and out of every phase of the Old Testament. Later in life, at a time outside

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124 - WA. Volumes iii and iv.
125 - Lindsay quotes from Nicolas de Lyra (whose comments Luther knew: "Litera grota docet, quid credas allegoria, Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogic." fn. 1, 456. Hist. i.
126 - Theology, i, 96, 102.
127 - Augustine, Bernard, Anselm, Wyclif, etc.

the limits of our present study, Luther will produce his lectures on Genesis, and they will show how completely such a book may be made to speak the theology of the Reformation. Now, concerned with his lectures on Psalms, and wholly bound up in his personal theology, he brings from the Psalms a certain definite Christ implication.

> "The first Psalm is said to speak literally of Christ....The third Psalm is spoken, says Luther, in the person of Christ's assumed humanity; the fourth is spoken in the person of the assumed human nature and is addressed to the Trinity; the sixth is composed principally of words of Christ; the eighth concerns Christ's ascension and glory; in the fifteenth the prophet asks who is worthy to dwell in the Church of Christ, and it is the Lord Jesus who replies; the twenty-fourth prophesies that Christ as Lord of all, will receive whomever he pleases without respect of person; in the thirtieth we hear Christ exult concerning his glorious resurrection from death and the grave; and in the forty-sixth the Church praises Christ for his protection and for the extermination of all its enemies."[128]

The interpretation of Psalms in this fashion, has of course a certain arbitrary character about it, but we must not lose sight of the fact that it was a conception practically unchallenged by the great teachers of the Church, and Luther was not on new or untried ground when he thus saw in Augustine's phrase "the New Testament latent in the Old." What we should rather search

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128 - Gilbert, Int. Bible, 198-9. Gilbert used Böhlau's edition of Luther's works.

these notes for is to ascertain at just what points and to what end Luther relates the work of Christ. Many a reference will have little or no meaning, because it will be so thoroughly accepted that it has no particular meaning for Luther. But if we shall find him speaking most eloquently and most deeply about Christ when he comes to the essential problems, not of the speculative mind, but of the religious mind, not of the existence of God and the correlations of the Trinity, but of the relation of the soul to God, of the remission of sin, and of the justification of the individual Christian, then we may be able to adduce proof for a certain line of growing thought in Luther's own consciousness. Granted the Christo-centric view of Psalms, it yet remains to see what Luther makes of the problems related to sin and grace. I have verified many a reference to the Dictata by the best Luther authors, and have sought out through the notes themselves many an interesting observation on the point under survey,and these results are grouped in the following pages.

The great Catholic biographer of Luther, Hartmann Grisar, sets out to proof-text the lectures of Luther on Psalms for a specific point of view, as do all of us. The point to which Grisar draws most of his observations is Luther's relationship to the rules of his Order, the supposed denial of the value of good works. It is therefore exceptionally interesting to

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our speculative mind, but of the realities where, not of
the existence of God nor the moralisms of life Christ,
but of the salvation of the soul in God, of the realities
of sin, and of the justification of the individual Christ-
ian, then we may be able to adduce proof for a certain
time of creative thought in Christ's own consciousness.
Through the Christ-centric view of Paulus, it yet re-
mains to see what further cases of the problem related
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of his Paulus, the supposed denial of the value of good
works. It is therefore especially interesting to

note that Father Grisar quotes the same phrases from the lectures as I would quote in many instances, but uses them for a divergent conclusion or proof. For example:

> "Most emphatically, as opposed to good works and merits, does he (i.e. Luther) insist on the grace of Christ, the 'nuda et sola misericordia Dei et benignitas gratuita', which must be our support and stay."[129]

Now for Grisar, this is rather a serious indictment of Luther, because it reflects on the rules of ethical life both in the large, and in the Orders of Catholicism; but for me it is another straw showing that the wind has turned and is blowing steadily toward a construction of Christian life built not upon the stricter and completer action of man, but upon the undeserved grace of God. Again Grisar lists a remarkable group of ideas or sections of ideas from the lectures on Psalms,[130] all dealing with the essential and necessary sin of humanity. Denifle and Grisar agree that these ideas are not heretical in themselves, but they forbode the great heresy that will spring from Luther; whereas it is my contention that they forbode the position which is to be found fully developed in the lectures on Romans, and that the position differs from that of the Church which was mothering Luther most extremely at the point where

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129 - Grisar, i, 71.
130 - Grisar, i, 73-74, in which are 13 phrases from the lectures on Psalms.

date that Tagore's poems are same phrasing from the lectures on I would quote in many instances, but does then for a lengthy or tendentious or point. For example:

> "Land experimentally, as proposed by good people and profit, does not fit the farmer's insight. Human nature of Christ, the lamp on hill, simplicity, fact as Christians preaching, great man's on his immanent and step."[120]

Now for Tagore, this is rather a serious indictment of Indian, because it indicates the value of rural life both to city dwellers, and in the crisis of civilization; but for me it is serious since it shows that the mind has turned and is blinded rationalized a construction of Christian life results not upon the statistics and materialistic action of man, but upon the unobserved guess of God. Again Tagore cites a remarkable cause of fears or sentiments of Indian from the lectures on Fascism,[121] and dealing with the peaceful and necessary sin of humanity. Tagore and Gandhi agree that Indians are not mentalized in themselves, but they forbode the great sin and that will-modes from British; suppose it is by contention that they forbode the position which is to be found fully involved in the lectures on Commerce, and that the quotation differs from that of the Christian who considering Indian most extremely or one point more

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120 - Gitanjali, p. 71.
121 - Gandhi, M. K., In Action and Its Purpose from the Lectures on Fascism.

it considers the work of Jesus.

Turning from Grisar to Denifle, we find the same thing happening, although with the customary Denifle coarseness. Denifle in considering the growth of Luther's thought about justification, finds many an example from the lectures on Psalms which he adduces to show the beginning of the degeneracy.[131] Now all of these are quite to the point of this Dissertation, for not only in every reference that Denifle cites in the passage noted, but in "countless times", Luther refers the "iustitia Dei" to the faith in Christ idea. The Luther shown here is, unquestionably, a serious man greatly disturbed over the concept of "righteousness", and in the first great Biblical lecturing that he does, we find that every time the idea of righteousness comes up for discussion, he refers it unhesitatingly to the work of Christ. There is apparent through these lectures on Psalms, a type of mind which to Grisar and Denifle is "arrogant" "confident" "proud" "sure of itself" "astonishing confidence" etc., but which, with equal justification, another value judgment being placed on the fact, may be described as: the mind is coming to rest in certainty, doubt is on the wane, experience of a deep sort is giving to the voice the sound

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131 - Denifle, Eng. i, 438. fn. 1374.

and emphasis of authority.

Loofs, likewise, quotes at some length from the lectures on Psalms.[132] His analysis is quite in line with that of the Catholic authors just quoted, except, of course, that he feels more sympathy with the turn which Luther's mind is seen to be taking in these lectures. "Und schon, da er zum ersten Male über die Psalmen las, begann er, die justificatio ex fide zu verstehen."[133] "Misere justitia ist, das sagt Luther oft, die fides Christi."[134] When Loofs thus summarizes the position of Luther "Unsers justitia ist die fides Christi," quoting, of course, from the lectures on Psalms, he selects, it seems to me, the key phrase from the now rapidly forming thought of Luther. The problem that has so long vexed him, is finding its center and solution. These lectures on Psalms present certainly an undeniable evidence of this centering of his thought on Christ.

Turning to the lectures themselves for some supporting evidence, there is here offered a few examples of the things discussed above by Grisar, Denifle and Loofs. This study of Luther's Psalms is not offered as anything like exhaustive, that in itself

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132 - Loofs, LF. 697 ff.
133 - Ibid, 689.
134 - Ibid, 699.

being more than one doctorate dissertation, but it is used here as one of the supporting evidences toward a conclusion.

To begin with, the interpretation of the Psalms as referring to Christ, is accepted in its entirety by Luther; the very caption for his own text being "Praefatio Jhesu Christi filii dei et domini nostri in Psalterium David."[135] And the first interlinear note to the first Psalm reads: "Psalmus primus de Christo loquitur, ..."[136] Now this interpretation in terms of Jesus is not new by any means to Luther, it had been the custom of the Church, but the newness will be in the applications of the interpretation, and the emphasis given.

Such phrases as "Quia deo non potest homo satisfacere nisi in Christo ..."[137], reveal the trend of the interpretation. Again, "... Christum filium, qui est gratia, via, vita et salus ..."[138] shows the full expression.

A connection of extreme importance in Luther's mind is evidenced in the following:

> "...mihi videri hanc esse differentiam inter iniquitatem et iniustitiam, quod iustitia est credere deo, sicut Ro.4 Apostolos et Ro. 1 probat, quia 'Iustus ex fide vivit'".[139]

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135 -WA. III, 12.
136 -WA. III, 15.
137 -WA. III, 207.
138 -WA. III, 269.
139 -WA. III, 331.

The mighty text of Romans 1:17 is here called into analogy in his Psalms interpretations. Such attraction of kindred ideas and suggestions of other phrases of Scripture are common throughout the whole commentary. Again we call to witness the high place of Christ in the interpretation suggested by the following:

> "Accedit homo.....primo de Christo, ut in glossa, que est S. Augustini. Secundo Cassiod. sic: Accedit homo. scilicet quilibet fidelis, ad cor altum, per divinorum contemplationem et fidem, et sic deus (Luther here writes Christus over deus) exaltatur non in seipso, sed in tali corde. (Divinitas enim Christi non cognoscitur, nisi mens per fidem elevetur)."[140]

Now the last sentence of that quotation shows clearly how the deeper personal appreciation of the religious life is defining the kind of knowledge with which one must know the deeper truths of religious knowledge. While the opening phrases of the quotation show not only the constant interpretation in terms of Christ, but also how Luther called to his aid the authorities, in this case Augustine and Cassiodorus. "Lex Christi, lex pacis, lex gratie, Euangelium, vocatur multis nominibus..."[141] suggests again how the lecture notes are working around Christ. And on the following page appears this very fine sentence that comes directly to the point of the struggle within Luther's life: "Et

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140 - WA. III, 365.
141 - WA. III, 462.

hoc iudicium est in cruce Christi nobis ostensum."[142] It is seen in the Cross of Christ -- made evident, discernible, learned there; and that there Luther keeps it, all his teaching and preaching witnesses.

The entire trend of the notes on Psalms moves along the line of thought which is based upon the total futility of human endeavor. Our own righteousness is of absolutely no validity in the eternal judgments, our own actions must be renounced as reasons for hope in the future judgment, humility and penitence are of vital worth in so far as they lead us to recognize in how far we are dependent upon the grace of God to lift us out of the slough of despair. The free gift of God is the constant note stressed throughout, and this free gift of God becomes available for humanity only in Christ.[143] For this purpose - the purpose of our justification - Christ became incarnate, conducted his earthly teaching, died, rose, rules. We are wholly dependent upon him, he is the cause, the reason, the power, the fact, the surety of our redemption. Christ gone, all is gone. Had we been able to do it ourselves, then Christ had died in vain. " ... per solum Christum salvus erit;"[144] such a phrase can mean absolutely nothing else than has been

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142 - WA. III, 463.
143 - A worthy collection of proofs is given at this point in MacKinnon, i, 162 ff.
144 - WA. III, 174, line 13.

suggested in the sentences just preceding it in this Dissertation.[145]

Sin becomes almost wholly overruled, though never absent, when the process of justification becomes personal. We are, says Luther, always sinning, always being justified,[146] and it is the mercy of God in Christ that is the justifying power. Christ is spoken of throughout the notes in terms of centrality, i.e. he is the agent through which every means of grace operates for us; he is the channel of the gospel; he is the focus of theology; he is the personalizing factor in the realm of religious thought.

> "Aber letzlich ist doch die fides für Luther schon in dem Psalmenkommentar das Vertrauen auf Gottes misericordia oder veritas, bezw. das Vertrauen auf Christi Werk für uns: fides= credere deo = deo satisfacere in Christo = sapientia crucis Christi, scilicet intelligere, quod filius dei est incarnatus et crucifixus et mortuus et suscitatus propter nostram salutem. Auf diesen drei Gleichungen (justificari = absolvi, gratia = misericordia dei non imputantis, fides = fiducia misericordiae) als den Regulatoren der religiösen Selbstbeurteilung ruht Luthers Frommingkeit und ihr entsprechedn seine Anschauung vom Christentum auch später."[147]

Friedrich Loofs in writing the above as his final analysis of the essence of Luther's main thought in the notes

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145 - Again MacKinnon, i, 164 ff. lists valuable proof.
146 - WA. IV, 364.
147 - Loofs, LF. 697. The underlined Latin of this quotation is direct from WA. III, and the exact references are given in fn. For purpose of use here, they have all been verified.

to the Psalms, lays stress upon the movement of the ideas that center around the problem of sin and grace. True it is that Luther was by nature constituted so that his own interest would lie in these circles. His early monastic life would not cause this to be changed, for we have seen in the preceding sections of this Dissertation that his thought clung desperately to the central conceptions of sin and grace. His increasing knowledge of Augustine led him directly to such a construction of theology as would hold these central. And now in the study of Psalms, he comes face to face with a great presentation of religion in this personal powerful manner. To one in Luther's state of mind, either not yet out of the deepest doubt, or just coming out, whichever we hold, the Psalms must speak a deep language. They are, at their best, personal outcries of deep intensity. They lay certain stress on the weakness and the sinfulness of human nature, and they call upon God in intimate powerful terms.[148]

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148 - Fife, Chapter VI, is the best description of the movement of Luther's thought through these lectures on Psalms.

#17. The Lectures on Romans

Coming to an analysis of the lectures on Romans, with which great work we conclude our study, it will be seen that the entire construction of Romans swings around the conception of Jesus which by this time has taken complete possession of the mind of Luther.

It is not designed that this shall be a proof-texting method, yet after all there is no way to study such a document except by pointing out the key expressions of interpretation. In the following pages, the text of Romans will always be underlined, and the comments of Luther to the text will not be underlined. In every case the text and the quotations of Luther alike are taken verbatim from the only reliable edition of these lectures available.[149] The Latin is retained because there is no translation from which we could use standard construction.

Commenting on Romans 1:3, Luther writes,

> "Hic magnus aperitur introitus in sacre Scripture intelligentiam, sc. quod tota de Christo sit intelligenda, maxime ubi est prophetica."[150]

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149 - Ficker. Hereafter designated as F. See Bibliography.
150 - F. page 4, line 19 f. Also see Loofs, 703.

And again, to the Romans 1:4 "est filius Dei", Luther writes, "sc. homo Christus sit filius Dei non ex carne, sed ex spiritu."[151] Also, to Romans 1:8, Luther writes, "... ut Deus non laudatur nisi per Christum."[152] Also to Romans 1:8 come the following Luther glosses: "per Jhesum Christum - qui solus mediator noster est:"[153] and "quia fides nostra - qua sc. in Christum creditis ...."[154] In a consideration of Romans 3:22-23, Luther enlarges on the Pauline statements in such fashion as to swing the center of his doctrine of justification by faith absolutely to Jesus. And in commenting on 3:24, he stresses the fact that grace is given us because of Christ.[155] In 3:26, when Luther points out that Paul did not say "ex lege", but "ex fide", he again conserves the centrality of Jesus.[156] After the Pauline "ex fide" of 5:1, Luther notes "non ex operibus"; and in the same verse, after the Pauline "per dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum" comes the Luther note "ut, per mediatorem, non per nos ipsos, etiamsi iam iustificati ex fide per quem ut mediatorem habemus accessum ad Deum."[157]

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151 - F. 5, line 1.
152 - F. 6, line 22.
153 - F. 6, line 6.
154 - F. 6, line 8.
155 - F. 33
156 - F. 35, 3 f.
157 - F. 45, 1 f.

There is discernible in his comment on 5:8-9 a reverberation of his earlier fear of judgment, and a sound suggestion of its now happy conquest through the thought of Christ -

> "Christus pro nobis impiis mortuus est: ne moreremus in eterum multo igitur magis postquam iusti sumus nunc iustificati remissis peccatis in sanguine ipsius, i.e. merito sanguinis eius salvi erimus ab ira eterni futuri iudicii per ipsum."[158]

This particular section of Romans was well qualified to call from Luther the notes which appear in the margins and between the lines of his text. They show very clearly that Luther is here thinking wholly in terms of Pauline Christology. He states that we have God and God is ours because he has given himself to us through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whose mediation our sins are remitted and we are accepted of God.[159] Luther constantly notes that the grace of God comes through Christ and without Christ there is no grace. Examples of this line of thought are plentiful.[160] Through these same pages, the thought of Luther can be seen clearly dealing with the fear element that had overshadowed his earlier thinking on the problem of original sin. His lecture notes deal frequently with it, and always the solution seems to have been found

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158 - F. 47, 10 f.
159 - F. 47.
160 - Particularly see where he comments on Romans 4:15-21. F. 49-52, esp. 49, line 10; 50, line 1, etc.

There is discernible in his comment on Sin-3 a reversion of his earlier fear of judgment, and a sound acceptance of its sure happy consequent through the brought of Christ -

> "Christians are noble in its performance only: be performance in spirits public friendly begins positions invit warns their identifies re-mials peaceable an sanguine inspire, i.e. results designing also anxiil setting ah its eternal future intellect per ipsum."[159]

This particular reaction of Romans was well qualified to suit from further the notes which appear in the margins and between the lines of his text. They show very clearly that author is here thinking wholly in terms of Pauline Christology. He states that we have God and God is unto because he has given himself to us through our Lord Jesus Christ, through whose mediation our sins are remitted and we are accepted of God.[160] Luther consistently notes that the grace of God comes through Christ, and without Christ there is no grace. Examples of this line of thought are plentiful.[161] Through these same pages, the thought of Luther can be seen clearly dealing with the fear element that had overshadowed his earlier thinking on the problem of original sin. His lecture notes deal frequently with it, and always the solution seems to have been found

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159 - P. 47, ll 7.
160 - P. 47.
161 - Especially see where he comments on Romans 4:15-21. P. 80-82, esp. 82. line 10: 32, line 1, etc.

through the conception of Christ. This is no small item of the case for the thesis that Christ is the key to the Luther development. References to his notes reveal a certain steadfastness now on the problems suggested by the doctrine of original sin, and he appears to meet all its doubts in the certainty that the work of Christ has ended forever the fear of the results of original sin.[161]

In discussing Romans 6:10-11, a problem close to his personal life, he writes in exact and accurate terms showing beyond any possible question that the point of thought from which he could not be dislodged, was his conception of Jesus. He will not, for example, let Paul simply say "Deo in Christo Jhesu", but he must add his inevitable "per fidem in Christo."[162] And to the preceding verse (Romans 6:10) he calls as aids kindred thoughts from Hebrews[163] showing how well his mind was now marshalling its knowledge to serve the one immovable idea. Moving on to 6:14, we find again the same movement of thought and the same concentration on Jesus.

> "Peccatum enim vobis nisi volueritis non dominabitur. non potuit dominari - ratio est; Non enim sub lege estis, sed sub gratia. quia implevistis eam per fidem Christi, cuius iustitia et impletio vestra est ex gratio Dei miserentis vobis data."[164]

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161 - F. 49, lines 13-31.
162 - F. 55, lines 3-4.
163 - F. 54, note 4.
164 - F. 56, lines 9-13.

And in a footnote to these interlinear remarks, Luther calls to support this triumph of grace, the great phrase from John 16: "Christus consolatur: 'In mundo pressuram habebitis, sed confidite, ego vici mundum', q.d. mea victoria vestra erit, si credidentis."[165] Surely no words could be plainer than those words which Luther thus adds in explanation of his Johannine quotation. The complete transfer of the victory of Jesus to his believing followers brought to Luther as one of those believers the certain assurance upon which his peace of mind had come to rest.

The concept of "righteousness" around which so much of his thought in the monastery had swung, now receives complete orientation on the thought of Christ, though it is appropriated by faith. For example, when Paul speaks of the "<u>iusticiae Deo</u>" in Romans 6:13, Luther follows the word "<u>iusticiae</u>" by the note "que ex fide est;"[166] and again in 6:18, when the same movement is under consideration and Paul uses the phrase "<u>servi factus estis iusticiae</u>", Luther follows without a pause "eius, que est in Christo per fidem in nobis ...."[167] and yet again in 6:20, the "<u>iusticiae</u>" of Paul but calls forth the"que est in Christo" of Luther.[168]

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165 - F. 56, note 2.
166 - F. 56, line 8.
167 - F. 57, line 18.
168 - F. 58, line 9; also Romans 10:3 Paul:"<u>iusticiae Dei</u>", Luther:"per fidem Christi", page 92,line 7.

and in a footnote to these introliner remarks, Luther calls to support this tradition of exegesis, the great phrase from John 16: "Ubertiam nonsolamnum: ita multae praesumen habeatis, sed capitis, ego vini pruebus", e.g. mea victoria vestra erit, si confidatis."[186] Surely no words could be clearer than those words which Luther thus made in explanation of his defending nuce-tion. The complete conquer of the victory of Jesus to his believing followers brought by Luther as one of these beliefsover the certain assurance upon which his peace of mind had come to rest.

The concept of "strictcontrons" crucial which so much of his thought in the monastery had swung, now receives complete evaluation on the thought of Christ, whom it is appropriated by faith. For example, when Paul speaks of the "justitiae Dee" in Romans 6:13, Luther follows the word "justitiae" by the note "nue ex fide est;"[187] and again in 8:18, when the same movement is under consideration and Paul uses the phrase "neque futura sunts justitiae", Luther follows without a pause "sine, que est in Christo per fidem in nobis ...."[187] and yet again in 6:20, the "justitiae" of Paul but calls forth the "nue est in Christo" of Luther.[188]

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186 - 2, 66, note 2.
187 - 2, 56, line 2.
187 - 4, 87, line 15.
188 - 4, 88, line 8; also Romans 3:13 Paul: "justitiae Dei", Luther: "per fidem Christi", page 90, line 7.

The famous Pauline thought of 6:23 "Stipendia enim peccati mors, gratia autem Dei vita aeterna in Christo Jhesu, domino nostro" is followed by the same observation of Luther, i.e. "que est Christo personaliter et per fidem eius in nobis participanter ac imputabiliter."[169]

One has the right to look for a particularly pointed case in any comment which Luther might pass upon the Pauline conception that we are "dead to the law", for that is a consideration of very heavy weight in the Luther super-sensitive consciousness on our inability to keep the law. What then do we find on turning to Romans 7:6? A rather extensive notation to the effect that it is through faith in Christ that we satisfy the law, and through his work have we come to our freedom.[170]

When Paul writes that no good dwells in the flesh (Romans 7:18), Luther writes after it that "Deus in Christo regenerat hominem!"[171]

And that climax of Romans (7:24-8:2), where the spiritual history of Luther is certainly mirrored, receives from his pen a thoroughly Christo-centric interpretation. His glosses and notes point as surely

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169 - F. 58, lines 17-18; 59, lines 1-3.
170 - F. 62, esp. note 1.
171 - F. 66, note 1.

The famous Pauline thought of 6:23 "Ratsoepte wule ieerdit nere, gratia autem Dei vita aeterna in Christo Dieu, Domino nostro" is followed by the same observation of Luther, i.e. "que est Christo personnel-iter ac per fidem, sicut in nobis multiplicatur ac in-vetaetitur."169

One has the right to look for a particularly related idea in my comment which Luther slight-ness upon the Pauline conception that so are "dead to the law". For what is a reconsideration of very heavy weight in the Luther sort-sensitive decisiveness on our in-ability to keep the law. When then do we find on trem-ing to Romans 7:6? A western rule-relic notation to the effect that it is through faith in Christ that we cast-ify the law, and through his work have we come to our freedom.170

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And what clues of Romans (7:24-8:2), where the spiritual history of Luther is correctly mirrored, receives from his pen a thoroughly Christo-centric in-terpretation. The Lessons and Roses point as always

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169 - P. 58, lines 14-14; 59, lines 1-3.
170 - P. 98, para. note 1.
171 - P. 66, note 1.

as it is possible for the written word to point, to a mind and heart revolving resistlessly around the central figure of Christ, and forcing every major interpretation to be in terms of Christ.

Let Luther's comment in 8:34 add its testimony to the others:

> "Quis est, qui condemnet? condemnabit? quod nullus poterit; causa est, quia Christus Jhesus, mediator et episcopus noster sc. est ille, qui qui mortus est, immo quo ne a morte absorbeatur, sed ut mortem absorber- et et resurrexit, quid est in gloria ad dext- eram Dei, qui etiam interpellat pro 'postu- lat', ut supra sicut sacerdos pro nobis."[172]

This is an affirmation of sufficient strength certainly to dispel the morbid clouds from the mind of Luther, and so it did.

When Paul pleads in Romans 10, for a living faith in Christ, the Luther notes become more coherent, more extensive, and seem to breathe a living unity with the subject, as though his heart, with some peculiar affinity, entered his work completely at this point.[173]

"... et hoc illis a me testamentum cum ab- stulero peccato eorum ...", so reads a part of Romans 11:27. Here you have one of the great units of Luther thought under consideration - "peccata eorum". So it

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172 - F.79, lines 13-19.
173 - F.93-94.

is a matter of interest to find the Luther note directly following "peccato eorum" to be "per passionem Christi". And his lengthier note to the same place reads:

> "Testamentum vetus non abstulit, sed auxit; vitus hominum auffere non potuit. Ergo solum novum testamentum i.e. gratia per Christi fidem aufert peccatum...."[174]

"Remove their sins 'through the passion of Christ'" -- to the consummation in such a thought, Luther had struggled through hard years!

His notes to the opening of Romans 11, once again show him stressing the now all-absorbing thought:

> "vero fundamento, quod est Christus" .... falso fundamento, quod est iustitia et merita propria ..." "Hoc est harenam fundamentum facere abiecto Christo". .... "... ita Christus sine nobis se ipsum iustitiam, pacem, securitatem conscientiem."[175]

Also a very beautiful touch is apparent in the following, the first phrase being Paul's, the second Luther's: "<u>nox praecessit, dies .... autem appropinquavit</u>, per Christum, solem iustitie;"[176]

Nor should our consideration pass over the text so powerful in Augustine's life, for Augustine shared with Paul, one of the greatest of influences in Luther's life, and here we may remember Augustine, while we read both Paul and Luther on a crucial text.

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175 - F. 109, note 2.
176 - F. 119, lines 9-11.

is a matter of interest to find this latter note directly following "poeseto somni" so be "nek preatkoma Gentil". Act his Lucretian note to the same place reads:

> "Tentamentum vertit non adestitit, sed mutatur; vitia Horatium auffere non potuit. Ergo solum novum tentamentum i.e. gratia per Omnipotentiam aufere poncessit...."[174]

"Remove their sins through the question of Omnipotent" -- so the commentation in such a thought. Lucretius had struggles through hard years:

His notes to the opening of Domans II. once again show his struggling the non All-encompassing thoughts:

> "Pero fuchsetto, quod sed Gaulsteel" ....
> Fatto fuchsonto, quod sed instituis et mere-
> tis mercatis ..." "Ubi est Nerosum Tunda-
> mentum Fecere ablesto Omnisto". ....
> ... ita christos sine nobis-ex ligum
> institutum, Deum, secundtyter consci-
> entia."[175]

Also, a very beautiful sonnet is expressed in the following, the first phrase being Fault's, the second Lucretar's "nox praecedentis, diva .... autem nunquamquamvit, per Omnipotum, solus institis;"[176]

For should one contemplation pass over the that so powerful in Augustine's life, for augmenting amored with Paul, one of the prominent influences in Luther's life, and here we may remember Augustine, while we read both Paul and Luther on a crucial text.

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[174] - P. 100, Line 2.
[176] - P. 110, Lines 9-11.

"... sed induimini per imitationem et reformationem ad imaginem eius dominum Jhesum Christum, in passionibus, abstinentiis, actionibus bonus et carnis curam providentiam, provisionem ne foeceritis non omnino nullam, sed in desyderiis. ad concupiscentias."[177]

In conclusion, a study of Luther's glosses and notes on his own text of Romans, used for lectures in the winter of 1515-16, shows rather conclusively that all the struggle and turmoil of his earlier years on the problem of sin and righteousness is over, and he has found himself so well grounded in a major belief, that peace and contentment have come to supercede the harsher attitudes of mind. The study also shows that that major belief is composed of an orientation of all his problems on the person and work of Christ.

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177 - F. 120, lines 4-8.

Turning from "Die Glosse" to "Die Scholien" no change is noted, but rather only an enlarged and more detailed presentation of the same thought. The very opening sentence is indicative of the entire trend and that trend is in no sense different from the line of thought set forth in the preceding pages.

> "Summarium huius epistole est destruere et evellere et disperdere omnem sapientiam et iustitiam carnis (id est quantacunque potest esse in conspectu hominum, etiam coram nobis ipsis), quantumvis ex animo et synceritate fiant, et plantare ac constituere et magnificare peccatum (quantunvis ipsum non sit aut esse putabatur)."[178]

The problem is definitely stated in this abrupt opening, and the line of interpretation of the entire lectures is here suggested. It presents Luther as one who plunged immediately into the heart of his problem, wasting no time in dilatory introductory remarks, no unnecessary rhetoric, but a fresh, strong, powerful attack at the center of the situation. From this opening sentence to the close, he carries the war along this line. Sin is deep and bitter and real; there is no help for it from human wisdom or human strength; the gospel will destroy all reliance on human will; but release will come from reliance on the grace of God, which is manifest and available through the historic work of Christ.

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178 - F. ii, 1.

Turning from "Die Ursache" to "Die Lösung" no change is noted, but rather only an enlarged and more detailed presentation of the same thoughts. The very opening sentence is indicative of the unity around and that trend is in no sense different from the line of thought set forth in the preceding pages.

> "Immerhin bringt spielende und destruierende oder zwillende ist Hinzuzählen einen empirischen Sinn der Unendlichkeit dennoch (ist das unendlich) nicht ohne mögliche Zweck in correspondiren Zweckmässigkeit, nicht ohne mögliche Zweck, quantumvis ex solo et arbitrarie tamen, ist dennoch ein constituiren ist manifestiert geschehen Tatsachen. Tatsachen lassen nun sich aus einer Einheit."[1]

The problem is definitely stated in the opening, and the line of interpretation of the entire lecture is more separated. It presents Kitchen as one who plunges immediately into the heart of his subject, wasting no time in "Einleitung, Introductory remarks, no unnecessary obstacles, but a frank, strong, powerful attack at the center of the situation. From this opening sentence to the close, he carries the war along this line. Sin is deep and bitter and real; there is no help for it from human wisdom or human strength; the vessel will destroy, all reliance on human will; but release will come from reliance on grace of God, which is manifest and available through the historic work of Christ.

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[1] - Ibid. p. 1.

In lecturing upon Romans i. 3-4, Luther dwells at length upon his thought of Christ. The strong emphasis upon the incarnation is evident throughout. Luther is determined that nothing shall detract from the certainty of the historic appearance, and that historic appearance shall be definitely connected with the divine revelation. A fact of history is the foundation of Luther's faith. God is not to be known apart from this historic revelation. This is not to say, however, that one has faith of a saving quality if he acknowledges the historic life of Christ to be a divine revelation. Melanchthon joins with Luther in guarding their position against that error, when he calls that conception "opinion" not "faith". Nevertheless, the faith of Luther is deeply attached to the historic Christ.

> "'De filio suo' est evangelium no absolute de filio Dei, sed incarnatio ex semine David. Et in hoc notatur, quod se exinanivit et infirmus factus, et qui ante omnia fuit et omnia fecit, ipse nunc cepit et factus est. Sed non solum evangelium de humilitate filii Dei loquitur, qua se ipsum exinanivit, immo etiam de gloria et potestate, quam post humilitatem a Deo accepit in humanitate, ita sc., ut sicut filius Dei per humilitatem et exinanitionem sui factus est filius David in carnis infirmitate, ita econtra filius David infirmus secundum carnem nunc rursus constitutus est et declaratus filius Dei in omni potestate et gloria, ut sicut se secundum forman Dei exinanivit usque in carnis inanitatem nascendo in mundum, ita secundum forman servi se implevit usque in plenitudinem divinitatis ascendendo in celum. Et nota propriissimam locutionem Apotoli. Non ait:

> qui factus est filius Dei in virtute, sicut ait: 'qui factus est secundum carnem'. Nam ab initio conceptionis Christi propter unionem utriusque nature verum fuit dicere: Iste Deus est filius David et iste homo est filius Dei. Prima ideo vero, quia exinanita est divinitas et in carnem abscondita. Secunda ideo vera, quia impleta est humanitas et in divinitatem traducta."[179]

These words came from the lips of Martin Luther in the lecture room of the University of Wittenberg in the winter of 1515-16, and they portray a man sure of his ground and clear in his mind. The presentation of Jesus here given, is one of historic elements; it cannot correctly be said that there is originality in the thought as such. But there may be great originality in the connection of the thought to the time and place of its enunciation. This is in reality a return to a stream of historic thought, which had been one of the Church's most vital possessions since the days when the Asia Minor Theology became vocal in Irenaeus. In the language of theology, Luther is here describing the thought of Christ through which he had come to know his own humanity lifted to divinity, or made acceptable to God. The actual words of this Christology may not carry conviction, nor seem of great importance, at first thought; but when uttered by the monk in Wittenberg, they became the foundation stones of a "Wittenberg Theology".

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179 - F. ii, 10.

> qui Faciunt aut Filius Dei in virtute, aliunt alii; qui Faciunt aut mandatum servare[1], Non ab initio concepitionis Christi propter unionem ubiniaque naturae verae Christi Dei; Iste Deus est Filius Dei, ab iste homo est Filius Dei. Prima idea vera, quia extinctis est divinitas et in carnem absconditus. Secunda idea vera, quia implicat est humanitas et in divinitatem transuota."[1]

There words came from the hand of Martin Luther in the lecture room of the University of Wittenberg in the winter of 1516-17, and they portray a man more of his ground and clear in his mind. The presentation of Jesus here given, is one of historic elements; it cannot correctly be said that there is originality in the thought on merit. But there may be great originality in the connection of the thought to the time and place of its enunciation. This is in reality a return to a stream of historic thought, which has been one of the Church's most vital possessions since the days when the Acts Minor Theology became vocal in Irenaeus. In the language of theology, Luther is here describing the thought of Christ through which he had come to know his own immediately lifted to divinity, or made acceptable to God. The mental trends of this Christology may not early convicting, nor seem of great importance, at first thought; but when uttered by the monk in Wittenberg, they became the foundation stones of a "Wittenberg Theology".

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1)Tr - P. 11, 10.

CHAPTER V.

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Martin Luther's Christology finds its full expression in these lectures on Romans, but it has its roots in the years of his striving after the assurance of a gracious God. Every avenue of his early experience leads to the same end. His early religious experience, with a definite undergirding of fear, demands such a form of assurance as will still the restlessness of doubt. This is his when Christ assumes in his mind the position of guarantor of the graciousness of God. As his concept of Christ undergoes change from that of Judge to that of Redeemer the contentment of his life increases. The great question of his soul, O wenn wiltu from werden und genug thun, dass du einen gnedigen Gott kreigst?, finds its answer in a realm of thought quite opposite to that which gave rise to the question. The transfer of his mind from one realm of thought to another is occasioned by his changing view of Christ. The Christ whom he comes to know in the long course of his study and his experience, will not fit into the scheme of thought in which he was dwelling when he entered the monastery, and he is therefore forced to a total re-adjustment of that scheme of thought. It is the record

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Martin Luther's Christology finds its full expression in these lectures on Romans, but it has its roots in the years of his struggling after the assurance of a gracious God. Every avenue of his early experience leads to the same end. His early religious experience, with a religious understanding of fear, showing such a form of assurance as still still the restlessness of doubt. This is his when finally assures to him and the position of superior of the mendicancies of God. As a consequence of Christ man-grown strong from that of humility that of Redeemer the continuancy of his life increases. The usual condition of his soul, O were within transgression and guilt, depends alone freedom from Christ.

This his answer in a realm of thought quite opposite to that which gave rise to the question. The transfer of his mind from one realm of thought to another is occasioned by his dynamic view of Christ. The Christ when he comes to know in the long course of his study and his experiences, will not fit into the scheme of thought in which he was dwelling when he entered the monastery, and he is therefore forced to a total re-alignment of that scheme of thought. It is the record

of a conflict between experience and expected experience. The expected experience was expected upon certain presuppositions or given theories; the actual experience was quite different from that expected; the result is a change of the presuppositions. Luther expected to gain his assurance through a certain line of activity, in which expectation he was partially justified by his historic situation and the teaching and practice of the Church into whose hands he gave his life; but the years of actuality failed to bring the fruition of his hope along the lines in which he had looked for it. On the contrary, the thought of Christ into which he was initiated by a greater tradition within this same Church, and which he confirmed by his own experience and study slowly grew to such a place that the entire basis of his hope was changed, and the fruition came from unexpected quarters and with an almost superhuman certainty. If his development be studied for the purpose of tracing the dominating idea running through this experience and this subsequent change of theory, it appears quite clearly that around the thought of Christ, the story has its unity.

Albrecht Ritschl is one of the great followers of Luther, in the sense, at least, that he considers himself to be closely in sympathy with the

of a conflict between experience and expected experience. The expected experience was expected upon certain presuppositions or given theories; the actual experience was quite different from that expected; the result is a change of the presuppositions. Lucien expected to gain his enjoyment through a certain type of activity, in which expectation he was partially justified by his historic situation and the teaching and example of the Chinese into whose hands he fell for his life; but the power of reality failed to bring the fulfilling of his hope along the lines in which he had looked for it. On the contrary, the thought of Christ into which he was initiated by a western traveller within his own dwelling, and which he confirmed by his own experience and study slowly gave to such a place that the entire basis of his hope was changed, and the fulfilling came from unexpected quarters and with an almost supernatural certainty. If this development be studied for the purpose of tracing the dominating idea running through this experience and this subsequent change of theory, it appears quite clearly that around the thought of Christ, the story has its unity.

Although Lucien is one of the great followers of Buddha, in the sense, at least, that by considerable himself to be closely identified with the

Luther thought. When then we turn to read of Luther in the pages of Ritschl we are reading the words of one who tried to understand him and who was at the same time deeply sympathetic and accurately honest. Two ideas of Ritschl bear particularly to our point here, and they are read into the Dissertation as evidence of the analysis given to Lutheran thought on the centrality of Christ.

> "'Si gratia consideratur secundum rationem gratui doni, omne meritum repugnat gratiae', says Thomas. Now this view of the entirely derivative character of all the moral and Christian worth of our person and works is the properly religious one. It is inevtable therefore, that as soon as a man living within the sphere of Catholic Christianity gains such a stage of development as to try himself by the purely religious standard, the idea of merit so laboriously wrought out in theory is without further consideration at once set aside."[180]

This supports the contention of the Dissertation that Martin Luther could find this "purely religious" standard in the tradition of Catholic Christianity, that he did so find it, and that he departed from the theory of merits through the force of this discovery.

The doctrine of Justification by Faith, around which so much of the Luther Theology is built,

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180 - Ritschl, Hist., 92.

Luther thought. Again then we turn to read of Luther in the works of Hitzenl as we are reading the words of one who tried to understand him and who was at the same time deeply sympathetic and genuinely concern. Two issues of Hitzenl bear particularly to our point here, and they are read into the Dissertation as evidence of the analysis given to Lutheran thought on the centrality of Christ.

> "Ich preise sonntäglichen neunmal
> Paulinen gratul-lont, oder meritum
> requiret gratiam', says Commo. How
> this view of the entirely relative
> dis-tanter of all the moral and Christian
> work of our person and works is the
> proprietary-relations one. This is inev-
> itable therefore, that as soon as a man
> living within the sphere of Catholic
> Christianity gains such a sense of
> development as to try himself by the
> purely religious standard, the man
> is unable so laboriously enough and in
> sincere, is without further consideration
> at once left aside."[18]

This supports the contention of the Dissertation that Martin Luther could find this "purely religious" standard in the tradition of Catholic Christianity. Yet he did so find it, and that he derived from the theory of merits through the forms of this discovery.

The doctrine of Justification by Faith, around which so much of the Luther Theology is built,

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18 - Hitzenl, Op. cit., 22.

and which has been so much a subject of controversy, is, after all, incoherent if detached from its base in the Luther view of Christ's person and work.

> "For justifying faith, as the Reformers understood it, is a frame of mind that is essentially determined by regard to the historical (and thus objective) appearance of Christ."[181]

> "The historic appearance is the abiding ground of the subjective consciousness of salvation."[182]

Certainly it was a subjective consciousness of salvation which Luther so greatly desired, and certainly it came to him through the operation of the thought of Christ in his own essentially practical mind.

Upon the historic revelation of God's grace and mercy in Christ, Luther builds his house.

As an integral part of this chapter on "Conclusion", the succeeding section, entitled "Summary" is intended. Turning to that section, let us list in their order the steps by which this Dissertation has proceeded, and the conclusions which it affirms.

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181 - Ritschl, Hist. 157.
182 - Ibid, 176.

Note: While Ritschl is avowedly anti-mystical, and is striving here to protect Luther, yet his observations are essentially correct.

and which has been so much a subject of controversy, is, after all, independent if detached from its base in the Luther view of Christian person and work.

> "The justifying faith, as the Reformers understood it, is a frame of mind that is essentially determined by regard to the historical (and thus objective) appearance of Christ."[181]

> "The historic appearance is the solid ground of the subjective consciousness of salvation."[182]

Certainly it was a subjective consciousness of salvation which Luther so strongly desired, and certainly it came to him through the operation of the thought of Christ in his own essentially prayerful mind.

Upon the dialectic revelation of God's grace and mercy in Christ, Luther builds his house.

As an integral part of this chapter on "Conclusion", the succeeding section, entitled "Summary" is included. Turning to that section, let me list in their order the steps by which this Dissertation has proceeded, and the conclusions which it attains.

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181 - Ritschl, Op. cit. 107.
182 - Iota, 1-a.

Note: While Ritschl is avowedly anti-mystical, and is striving here to protest Luther, yet his observations are essentially correct.

SUMMARY

The field of study:	The personal experience of Martin Luther.
The narrower field:	The assurance of salvation as the quest of Luther.
The time period:	From his boyhood to the time when his assurance is a fact of his consciousness. 1483-1516. Especially 1505-1516.
The sources:	Chiefly Luther's own writings. Letters. Notes on Augustine. Notes on Lombard. Notes on Psalms. Notes on Romans. Tischreden. Also; the standard authorities for the entire Luther tradition.
The method:	Examination and comparison of the authorities. Examination and deductions from the writings. Ordered presentation of life and study as a unit.
The thesis:	Martin Luther arrived at the subjective assurance of salvation by a development whose main lines are Christological. A total change, of the character described in this Dissertation, of his thought of Christ is the dominant movement in his life from 1505-1516. The following pages present the argument, in brief, of this point of view.

SUMMARY

The field of study:	The personal experiences of Martin Luther.
The sources field:	The resources of salvation as the quest of Luther.
The time period:	From his ordained to the time when his authorship is a fact of the sixteenth-century 1483-1518. Especially 1505-1518.
The sources:	Chiefly Luther's own writings. Letters. Notes on Augustine. Notes on Lectures. Notes on Psalms. Notes on Romans. Marginalia. Also: the standard authorities for the entire Luther literature.
The method:	Examination and compilation of the authorities. Examination and deductions from the writings. Ordered presentation of life and work as a unity.
The thesis:	Martin Luther arrived at the subjective assurance of salvation by a development which was with liver are theological. A total change, of the character described in this dissertation, of his thought of Christ is the dominant movement in his life from 1505-1518. The following pages present the argument, in brief, of this point of view.

Childhood and Youth

Martin Luther's childhood was lived within the bosom of a stern and strict Catholic piety, under exacting, but honorable parents. His traditions were all such as to make for the development of a nature which regarded sin and the transgression of the law as momentous. A strict rearing, a stern schooling, a superstitious neighborhood, and a sensitive nature combined to produce a boy who would be susceptible to deep torment of soul. A natural religious bent was strengthened by schooling at Magdeburg and Eisenach. In the life at the latter town, all the currents of religious interest were perceptibly deepened, and the mighty traditions which even yet arouse us, made their fine influences felt upon him. His friendships and his schooling at Eisenach quite prepared the way for the furtherance of religious desire within his life. All of these years are marked by a conception of religion controlled by the popular Thuringian fancy, in which the saints took the burden of mediation and Jesus shared the faculty of judgment with God. Luther testifies, and popular history verifies it, that his view of Jesus in these developing years was a view colored by the fear of his judgment. To the saints he addressed himself in moments of necessity. The "Last Judgment", of Michael Angelo, places Jesus at

Childhood in Vienna

Martin Luther's childhood was lived within the bosom of a stern and austere Catholic piety, under exacting, but honorable parents. His traditions were all such as to make for the development of a nature which regarded sin and the transgression of the law as monstrous. A strict master, a stern schooling, a superstitious neighborhood, and a sensitive nature combined to produce a boy who would be susceptible to deep foreboding of soul. A natural religious bent was strengthened by schooling at Magdeburg and Eisenach. In the life of the latter town, all the surroundings of religious interest were peculiarly designed, and the mighty traditions which even yet remain, made their influences felt upon him. His friendships and his schooling at Eisenach must prepared the way for the outbreaks of religious desire within his life.

All of those years are marked by a conception of religion controlled by the popular Franciscan idea, in which the saints took the burden of redemption and leave absent the Deity of judgment with God. Luther hesitates, and popular history verifies it, that the view of Jesus in those developing years was a view colored by the fear of his judgment. To the saints he addressed himself in moments of necessity. The "last judgment", of Michael Angelo, places Jesus as

the center of the judging process; and likewise did the mind of the people who reared Luther.

Entrance into the Monastery

Abruptly, to all appearances, Luther broke off a prosperous and happy educational development by entering a monastery belonging to the German Augustinians. Here he could rightfully expect to find solutions for the religious problems that vexed him. Viewed from any one of several approaches, this event reveals the presence and power of a strong religious nature, temporarily heavily influenced by the element of fear. Within the monastery he rather expected to be able to bring to rest the deep trouble of his soul, to "work out his own salvation with fear and trembling." He hoped to win, by a conscious effort in monastic life, the favor of a gracious God.

His Monastic Discipline

Once within the walls of the protecting Order, he applied himself heart and soul to the fulfilment of his tasks, and did so succeed in following the requirements that he won for himself not a little reputation and honor for his zeal. But the peace for which he had hoped was not following upon the deeds, as his religious unrest increased under the drive of his own will. In comparison with his own righteousness, the righteousness of Christ and of God seemed far removed, and the gulf deep and fixed.

the center of the public present and likewise did the mind of the people who feared Luther.

Outward Loss of the Monastery. Apparently, to all appearances, Luther broke off a prosperous and happy educational development by entering a monastery belonging to the German Augustinians. Here he could significantly expect to find solutions for the religious problems that vexed him. Viewed from any number several aspectives, this event reveals the presence and power of a strong religious nature, temperamentally heavily influenced by the element of fear. Within the monastery he rather expected to be able to strive so hard for deep freedom of his soul, to "work out his own salvation with fear and trembling." He hoped to win, by meritorious effort in monastic life, the favor of a wrathful God.

His Monastic Disciplines. Once within the walls of the protecting Order, he applied himself heart and soul to the fulfillment of his desire, and did so success in following the requirements also as man for himself not a little reputation and honor for his zeal. But the power for which he had hoped was not following upon the deeds, as his religious unrest increased under the order of his own will. In comparison with his own righteousness, the righteousness of God's law seemed far remote, and the God deep and fierce.

Theological Study

In his theological study in the Erfurt Monastery, Luther is trained in the scholastic system, chiefly of William of Occam. The Nominalism of these later schoolmen was an atmosphere able to increase the strain on Luther. The central position of will in the universe, and the ability of the human will to achieve that upon which it determined, were doctrines of torment to the monk. The entire emphasis of this scholastic study was unhealty for the religious condition of Luther. He was not trained by his actual teachers in the thought of Augustine, nor even of Aquinas, but his whole formal instruction was in the quibbles and memorizations of a scholasticism long past its strength.

Biblical Study

The Bible was read and known in the monastery, and Luther was given a copy for his personal use, when he began his period of study. He was required to read it, but he went far beyond his requirements, and laid the foundations of that amazing knowledge of Scripture which he later manifested. The beginning of the study that shall free him from his fear, is to be seen in this Bible reading in Erfurt. The mercy of God revealed in the Psalms, the Christ of the Gospels, and the Christ of the Pauline letters begin here their great redemptive work. Biblical

Theological Study

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Biblical Study

The Bible was read and known in the monastery, but Luther was given a copy for his personal use, when he began his period of study. He was required to read it, but he went far beyond his requirements, and laid the foundations of that amazing knowledge of Scripture which he later evidenced. The principle of the study that should free him from his fear, is to be seen in this Bible reading in Erfurt. The mercy of God revealed in the Psalms, the Christ of the Gospels, and the Christ of the Epistles helpers begin here their great redemptive work. Biblical

appreciation wars with scholastic philosophy in the mind of Luther.

Wiser Counsel. Bernard A wise Preceptor in the line of Luther's advance, now directs him to two thoughts of great importance in his development. First he points out to him that he is disobedient in doubting the forgiveness of sins, or the graciousness of God, because God himself had commanded belief in the forgiveness of sins. Second he advises him to ponder on some quotations from the great Bernard of Clairvaux. Now is is to me a link of strongest possible evidence in the development of this thesis that Luther was turned aside to the study of Bernard. Luther read from the pages of Bernard an exaltation of Christ, at once so beautiful and so firm and assured, which opened up for him realms of thought unknown before. For Bernard the historic Christ is full of grace and mercy, compassion dwells in him, humanity finds release through him, God shows his heart in him. Bernard's piety opened up for Luther a land of new contentment, because it presented to him a definite point upon which Luther could with certainty build, namely, the historic life of Jesus.

appreciation were with scholastic philosophy in the mind of Luther.

Time Change. A wise Freeseptor in the time of Luther's advance, now directs his attention to the thoughts of great importance in his developments. Were he points out to him that he is disobedient in doubting the forgiveness of God, or his graciousness of God, because God himself had commanded belief in the forgiveness of sin. Second he advises him to ponder on some questions from the great doctrine of Christ. This is to be a link of important scriptural evidence in the development of John Hessels that Luther was further using in the study of Bernard. Luther was from the reason of Bernard an evaluation of Christ, as one so beautiful and so fine and eternal, which opened up for his reading of theologians and fathers. For Ber-nard the Christ Christ is full of grace and mercy, compassion & pity in him, frequently flies swiftly through him, and shows his heart in him. Bernard's piety opened up for Luther a kind of new apprehendment, because it pressured to him a definite point upon which Luther could with certainty cling, namely, the Hu-mate life of Jesus.

Augustine

But a yet greater leader than even Bernard is offered to the young monk when he is directed to the reading and the study of Augustine. The residue of his speculative difficulties began to be dissolved in the presence of the historical piety of Augustine. A strong and new conception of Christ grew steadily within his mind. Human will lost its scholastic glamor, and formal perfection was placed outside the realms of possibilities. The overwhelming grace and mercy of God, and this known as certain because it was centered in the factual Christ, became the grounds of hope. To believe in Christ is to believe in his humanity ..... he is our life, our justification, our resurrection; in such a vein writes Luther after Augustine has opened up the wealth of piety available for one who centers his heart on the work of Christ.

With his eyes thus opened by Bernard and Augustine, Luther was now in a position to more correctly appreciate the wealth of dependence upon Christ which filled his routine liturgy, and his Catholic tradition.

Influence of Staupitz

The greatest single factor in this process of liberation came into the life of Luther through John von Staupitz. In actual living words Staupitz told Luther to look for the solution of his doubt, perplexity, and fear to the redemp-

Speculative But a yet greater leader than even Bernard is offered to the young monk when he is directed to the reading and the study of Augustine. The results of his speculative difficulties began to be dissolved in the presence of the historical study of Augustine. A stronger and more conception of God came speedily within his mind. Though with here its scholastic phase, and formal performance was closed within the realms of possibilities. The conceivable grace and mercy of God, which Luther as certain because it was centered in the factual Christ, became the crucible of hope. To believe in God is to believe in His humanity ..... He is our life, our justification, our resurrection; in such a-vein writes Luther after Augustine has opened up the wealth of truth available for one who centers his heart on the work of Christ.

With his eyes thus opened by Bernard and Augustine, Luther was now in a position to more compre-hensively appreciate the wealth of dependence upon Christ which filled his mystic piety, and his Catholic tradition.

Influence of Augustine The greatest single factor in this process of liberation came into the life of Luther through John von Staupitz. In earnest lively words Staupitz told Luther to look for the wounds of his Saviour, penitently, and turn to the Cross-

tive work of Jesus. Look upon the wounds of Jesus and see your predestination there; these must have been words freighted with mighty meaning to Martin Luther.

Romans i:17. In general, Luther literature has taken for granted that the entire Luther problem is understood when it is affirmed that Luther came to a new understanding of the text of Romans i:17. But this Dissertation is affirming that the so-called new understanding of this text was not necessarily new to Luther, since it had been within the experience of Augustine and other great leaders of Western piety, and moreover the interpretation of the text is directly dependent upon the appreciation of the work of Christ which Luther had learned from his study of Bernard and Augustine, and from his contact with Staupitz. The relentlessness with which Luther draws out its implications in his later action bring us into his debt, but not the discovery of the meaning. The important avenue of thought which led Luther to this interpretation is that in the work of Jesus, Luther had learned a way and a means by which and in which the just were justified. Not justification, then, but a reorganization of the place of Christ was central in the movement.

Lectures on Psalms and Romans The final unity of the thesis is achieved when the opening lectures of Luther in the field where he longed to work are exam-

<u>Give more of Jesus.</u> Look upon the wounds of Jesus and see more tremendous things; these wounds have been made freighted with mighty results to Martin Luther.

<u>Volume 4:17.</u> In general, Luther literature has taken for granted that the entire Lutheran exodus is understood when it is affirmed that Luther came to a new understanding of the text on Romans 1:17. But this Dissertation is affirming that the specifics and nuances of this text was not necessarily new to Luther, since it had been within the experiences of Augustine and other great Fathers of Western piety, and moreover the interpretation of this text is directly dependent upon the appreciation of the work of Christ which Luther had learned from his study of Augustine and Augustine, and from his contact with mystics. The relationness with which Luther draws out its implications in the later action brings us into his soul, not the discovery of the gospel. The important avenue of thought which led Luther to this interpretation is that in the work of Jesus, Luther had learned a way and a means by which and in which the just were justified. <u>Not justification, then, but a reorganization of the place of Christ was centered in the movement.</u>

<u>Lectures on Galatians and Romans</u> The final unity of the thesis is achieved when the opening lectures on Galatians in the field where he longed to work are exam-

ined and the place there given to the work and place of Christ is ascertained. Such an examination reveals that the strongest and most powerful line of thought running through each of these lectures is the Christological. The great problems of sin and grace around which Luther's life had been lived, are now presented in a formal solution that is worked out on the basis of the work of Christ, and in an active solution on the basis of a personal faith that the work of Christ has been done for each individual. Luther writes the personal word "for me" after the historic redemption wrought by Christ. These lectures show in clear and certain form the major concept of his entire theological thought and of his active Christian life to be a deep and abiding trust in the objective reality of the work of Christ, and on this objective reality he builds the subjective consciousness of peace and contentment within his Christian experience. The fear has gone, because a better understanding of Christ has made it impossible to be afraid. The doubt has gone because the historic activity of Christ gives a firm ground of hope. The deep torment over sin has gone because the work of Christ has brought to him a continual justification. Life is no longer a frightful effort to keep the balance even between sin and righteousness, because God has vouchsafed in Christ the essential "righteousness" by which

that and the place there given to the work and person of Christ is accentuated. Such an examination reveals that the strongest and most powerful ties of thought running through each of these lectures is the christological. The great problems of sin and grace around which Christian life and book lives, are now presented in a formal solution that is worked out on the basis of the work of Christ, and in an active solution on the basis of a personal faith that the work of Christ has been done for each individual. Bushnell writes the personal word "for me" after the historic redemption methods covering these lectures some in close subordination from the major concept of the active theological thought and of his active Christian life to be a deep and vital, trust in the objective reality of the work of Christ, and on this objective reality behind the subjective consciousness of peace and contentment which is his Christian experience. The fear has gone, because a better understanding of Christ has made it impossible to be afraid. The doubt has gone because the historic activity of Christ gives a firm ground of hope. The deep torment over sin has gone because the work of Christ has brought to him a continual justification. Life is no longer a fainting effort to keep the balance even between sin and righteousness, because God has vouchsafed in Christ the essential "righteousness" by which

the "just" may live.

Final Statement The conception of the person and work of Christ which he slowly developed is the one unifying element in the spiritual life of Martin Luther through his formative years. This is composed at the beginning of the elements of fear and justice, of the necessity of presenting himself as acceptable before the might and majesty of the Judge of the world. It moves, then, through a period in which he attempts to meet the requirements of this earlier view through the monastic system and the life of the religious. But during this period, he finds increasing evidence of the lack of reality connected with such an attempt, while on the other hand new appreciations of Christ come to him through study and experience. He leaves behind him with the same growth, both the early view of Christ and the attempt to gain assurance through works, and enters upon a period of the discovery of an entirely new outlook upon the spiritual life. This period is marked by the appreciation of the historic fact of the revelation of mercy and grace in Christ. Then, in life and study, he confirms his new found emphasis, centering all his thinking and all his spiritual life around a firm and steady acceptance of the work of Christ.

the "just" may live.

Final Statement: The conception of the person and work of Christ which he slowly developed is the one unifying element in the spiritual life of Martin Luther through his formative years. This is composed as the beginning of the elements of fear and hatred, of the necessity of presenting himself as acceptable before the might and majesty of the Judge of the world. It appears, then, through a period in which he attempts to meet the requirements of this conflicting view through the monastic system and the life of the religious. But during this period, he finds increasing evidence of the lack of reality connected with such an attempt, while on the other hand new appreciations of Christ come to him through study and experience. He leaves behind him with the earlier growth, both the merit view of Christ and the attempt to gain assurance through works, and enters upon a period of the discovery of an entirely new outlook upon the spiritual life. This period is marked by the appreciation of the historic fact of the revelation of mercy and grace in Christ. Then, in life and study, he combines his new found knowledge, centering all his thinking and all his spiritual life around a fine and clearly comprehensive of the work of Christ.

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Fellowship.	Frank Howard Fellow, 1925-26. Europe, June 1925 - September 1926.
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